

FIFTEENTH
ANNUAL REPORT,

PRESENTED TO THE

PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

BY ITS EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,

OCTOBER 25, 1852.

WITH THE

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ANNUAL MEETING.

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R E P O R T.

Our meeting on the occasion of our last anniversary was held, in some respects, under a cloud. The Fugitive Slave Law was then in its fullest force. The escaped bondman, frightened from his refuge, was flying before his pursuers, in search of a more secure resting place; a panic pervaded our entire colored population; some of our brethren were in prison, charged with the capital crime of treason, while the penalties of the same offence were denounced against others who were at large. Such an array of gloomy circumstances could not fail, of course, to have its influence upon the meeting; and its effect was freely acknowledged. But though "troubled on every side, we were not distressed; though perplexed, we were not in despair;" for we felt assured that our trouble and perplexity would be of but short duration, and that the cloud which hung over our horizon would soon be dispersed, and our pathway be once more irradiated with the cheering rays of light and truth. The causes of our temporary embarrassment were well understood, and at the time distinctly set forth. They were stated to have their origin in the vaulting ambition of northern politicians, and the unscrupulous avarice of northern merchants: the one aiming at southern votes in the approaching Presidential contest, and the other greedy for the gold, of which accident at the time had given to the slaveholders a more than usual proportion. These causes, it was stated, could, in the nature of things, be but of temporary operation. "Wait but a little while," was the language of the report we then submitted, "and a reverse action will be seen, changing the current of events, putting a new aspect on affairs, and giving a fresh impulse to the cause of freedom. . . . The developments which are taking place are adding new converts to our ranks, and making new champions for our cause. Let politics assume

a different shape, as they soon will; let the accidental price of cotton fall, as it inevitably must; and the whole appearance of things will be reversed, and the Anti-Slavery cause be made to move forward with accelerated rapidity. Such, at least, is our hope, and such our confident expectation."

What was then prophecy is now matter of history. "Our confident expectation" has been fully realized, and already has "the whole aspect of affairs been reversed." The Fugitive Slave Law, though still on our statute books, is shorn of its terrors, and is fast falling into contempt. The machinations against abolitionists have recoiled upon their inventors; the charge of Judge Kane troubles no one now, unless it be its author or those interested in his reputation; our imprisoned brethren have been liberated in triumph; the panic among the colored people has subsided: the fugitive slave enjoys his newly-acquired freedom comparatively without fear, and the abolitionists are full of confidence and hope. Our cause was never in a more promising condition, nor our prospects more cheering.

One year ago our record showed a catalogue of twenty-six cases of alleged slaves delivered up from this State under the Fugitive Law, besides numerous cases of kidnapping and attempts to kidnap, and other instances of outrage and violence perpetrated under cover of the infamous enactment. This year we have to report but three cases of extradition as having occurred within the limits of our State, only two well-authenticated cases of kidnapping, and apart from these, but a single instance—though, as will be seen, that was a very atrocious one—of outrage and violence. Within what may be considered the more immediate sphere of the Society's action, where the population is densest, and refugees from slavery the most numerous, there has not occurred since last October a single case in which the provisions of the Fugitive Law have been executed—a fact which, either as evidence of the progress of our cause, or of the efficacy of this Society's action, is truly cheering. One year ago the pro-slavery politicians of the country, in this state and out of it, were at the zenith of their power, and were leaving no expedient unresorted to to accomplish the objects of their unhallowed ambition. Daniel Webster had proclaimed his construction of the law of treason, and was using his personal

influence and official power to reduce it to practice; and the judges of the United States Court in this state were co-operating with him in his efforts. Mr. Buchanan, having debauched a sufficient portion of his party for the purpose, was offering the Democracy of Pennsylvania at the shrine of slavery, and was obediently waiting the behests of that insatiate deity. His especial organ, the "Pennsylvanian" newspaper, was clamoring for the blood of Hanway and Lewis, and demanding the utter suppression of abolitionism. His co-workers and confederates, with politicians of the same ilk from Maryland, were canvassing the state, denouncing abolitionists, declaring that the Anti-Kidnapping Act of 1847 should be repealed, and pledging themselves, that at the then approaching session of the Legislature, a bill should be introduced, prohibiting thenceforth the immigration of all colored people into the State.

Less than a year had elapsed before Daniel Webster had become but an object of commiseration both to his friends and his enemies, while James Buchanan is consigned to a political grave, from which there is no hope of an early resurrection. Hanway and Lewis are honored names: names which, with those of Scarlet, Jackson, and Williams, will be cherished in respectful memory, while those of their persecutors shall be forgotten. The law of 1847, with the exception of a clause not material to its vitality, stands in its original integrity: the bill to prohibit colored people from coming into the state proved an abortion; the demand for the suppression of free speech in regard to slavery has only led to increased agitation; and the whole Anti-Slavery question is placed in a position of higher ascendancy than it has ever before occupied in the eyes of the public.

Such being the auspices under which we now come together, we feel this to be a proper occasion for mutual congratulation and devout thankfulness. The fact that there is still much to mourn over, and a great deal yet to be done, shall not prevent us from rejoicing at what has already been accomplished. Here, therefore, we set up our Ebenezer, for "hitherto has the Lord helped us." In Him we have put our trust, and He who "disappointeth the devices of the wicked, so that their hands cannot perform their enterprise; who taketh the wise in

their own craftiness, and carrieth the counsels of the froward headlong," has fully justified our faith, and rewarded our highest expectations. We will not suppress, therefore, the natural feelings which are excited, of gratitude for the past, and of joyous confidence in view of the future.

With these remarks by way of preface, we proceed to the task before us, of reviewing somewhat in detail the history of the year, and of noting such events as may have transpired in its progress affecting the interests of our enterprise.

THE TREASON TRIALS.

The first event of this character, both in chronological order and importance, was the Trial of the Christiana Prisoners. The circumstances of these trials are fresh in the memories of all; and except for the purpose of completing our record, and deducing from it some appropriate reflections, there would be no need of recurring to them. It will be remembered, that the Grand Jury of the United States Court, inquiring for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania, with Thomas B. Florence as Foreman, and acting under the charge of Judge Kane, on the 13th and 14th of October, 1851, reported true bills against Castner Hanway, Elijah Lewis, Samuel Williams, Joseph Searlet, James Jackson, and thirty-four others, for the crime of treason; that Judge Grier, in consequence, directed the Marshal to summon a hundred and eight jurors, twelve of them to be from Lancaster county, to try the prisoners, and that the fourth Monday of November following was fixed for the trials. That in the meantime a correspondence was kept up between the Attorney General in Philadelphia and the administration at Washington, the object of which on both sides was to give vigor to the prosecution, and ensure a verdict for the government; that on Monday, the 24th of November, the time fixed for the trial, Castner Hanway was duly arraigned, Judges Grier and Kane being on the bench, and that the counsel who appeared in his behalf were, John M. Read, of Philadelphia, Thaddeus Stevens, of Lancaster, Joseph J. Lewis, of West Chester, and Theodore Cuyler, and William Arthur Jackson, of Philadelphia; that on behalf of the government were present: John W. Ashmead, District Attorney of the

United States for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania; and on behalf of the State of Maryland, Robert J. Brent, Attorney General of the State of Maryland, James Cooper, member from Pennsylvania, of the United States Senate, and R. M. Lee, well known as the slave-catcher's usual attorney in fugitive slave cases; that there was much difficulty in procuring a jury, two days being occupied, and the whole panel of a hundred and eight being exhausted before the requisite number could be agreed upon; that at length the trial was commenced, the opening speech made by the District Attorney, the testimony given in on both sides, and speeches heard from the counsel of the different parties concerned; that on the 18th day of the trial, Judge Grier delivered his charge, after which the jury retired, and in about ten minutes brought in a verdict of "Not Guilty:" that on hearing the verdict, the District Attorney moved for a *nolle prosequi* to be entered on the other four bills, and subsequently made the same motion in regard to the bills for treason against all the remaining prisoners; that all these, with the exception of Samuel Williams, who was held to bail to answer for violating the provisions of the Fugitive Slave Law, were handed over to the State authorities to be tried at Lancaster, and that when their case was brought before the Court of that county—which was done on the 12th of January—the bills which had been prepared by the Lancaster Prosecuting Attorney, were returned to the Court by the Grand Jury, ignored; and that in consequence, the prisoners were released from confinement, and the bonds of those who were out on bail, with the exception of Williams, already mentioned, were cancelled. That on the same day—the 12th of January—Samuel Williams was brought before Judge Kane in the District Court, charged in two bills with having violated the provisions of the Fugitive Slave Law, and that notwithstanding all the efforts made by the zealous counsel for the government to convict him, the jury in the case returned a verdict of "Not Guilty;" whereupon Mr. Williams, the last of the prisoners, was set at liberty.

These facts, as has already been intimated, are of such recent occurrence, that they need only to be mentioned to be distinctly recalled. We state them here partly to complete the chain of

our narrative, and partly for the reflections, appropriate to the occasion, which they naturally suggest. The whole affair on the part of those who instigated and conducted it, was a most cruel and wanton outrage—from beginning to end a tyrannical and remorseless persecution. The arrest and imprisonment of these innocent men, their forcible separation from their homes, families and friends, and from the business by which they acquired their livelihood, and all too on the false pretext that they had been guilty of a crime deserving of death, constituted a series of outrages as gross as were ever inflicted in the name of Justice, and under the sanction of Law, in any country. And the fact that these prosecutions were originated and carried on by apostate northern freemen in support of southern chattel slavery, is an aggravation of their atrocity, which will make their record one of the darkest pages in modern history.

But though these prosecutions were the cause of much severe and protracted suffering to the individuals who were its objects, and to their friends, and were eminently disgraceful to the country that tolerated them, they were at the same time productive of such advantage to the Anti-Slavery cause, as to be on the whole more the occasion of congratulation than regret among the abolitionists. They elicited from every quarter the strongest expressions of sympathy with the prisoners, and of indignation against their persecutors. They served to reveal to people who had been previously blind on the subject, the execrable character of American slavery, and the fact that the system can only be perpetuated at the expense of northern freedom. It silenced, we trust for ever, the silly inquiry "What has the North to do with slavery?" and made known to the rulers of the country, and to the country itself, a degree and extent of sympathy with abolitionism which before had hardly been suspected. Instead of arresting the progress of our movement, and suppressing all agitation on the subject, they only gave a new impulse to discussion, and aroused the friends of the cause to fresh zeal and activity. The result of the trials was, on the whole, an anti-slavery victory. Not a single count of all the indictments was sustained; the prisoners were not only triumphantly acquitted of treason, but of all offence against the provisions of the Fugitive Slave Law, and the judges, after

all they had said on former occasions, were constrained to charge in favor of the defendants, and to lay down doctrines in regard to treason wholly different from those which had been previously understood to have their sanction. Said Judge Grier in his charge:

"A number of fugitive slaves may infest a neighborhood, and may be encouraged by the neighbors in combining to resist the capture of any of their number; they may resist with force and arms their master or the public officer who may come to arrest them; they may murder and rob them: they are guilty of felony, and liable to punishment, but not as traitors. Their insurrection is for a private object, and connected with no public purpose."

If the laying down of this doctrine should lead to a repetition of the scenes of *Christiana*, we trust that Judge Grier will not hold the abolitionists responsible for it.

Our exultation at the result of the trials, we must confess, was in no wise diminished by observing its effect upon the slaveholders, and witnessing the manner in which they requited the Court for their superfluous zeal in their behalf. Judge Grier had been especially forward in his demonstrations of good will to the South, and dislike of the abolitionists; so much so that, on one occasion during the trials, speaking of the "*Pennsylvania Freeman*," he quite stultified himself by his affected contempt of that paper, and his passionate assurances that it was entirely undeserving of notice. But insensible to, or oblivious of all this, Lawyer Brent, whose officiousness the Judge had borne with so much grace, and whose professional stupidity he had so kindly endeavoured to cover up, in his charge, by a complimentary tribute to his learning, went back home to his employer, Governor Lowe, and reported that the case had been most partially tried, that Maryland had been unfairly dealt with, and that in such a Court no case involving the interests of slaveholders could be expected to be decided with justice. These declarations Governor Lowe subsequently repeated in his annual message, with a severe review in particular of Judge Grier's charge; so that now the probability is that, after all his pains to the contrary, the Judge stands as low in the opinion of the Marylanders, as he does in the respect of the Pennsylvania abolitionists whom he has so wantonly traduced. The award which was meted out to the Secretary of State, was still more retributive, as we shall

have occasion to see, when we come to speak of the Baltimore Conventions.

Our inference from the whole matter is, that however much these trials may have been, in many respects, to be deplored, their effect upon the anti-slavery cause has been decidedly beneficial. Their good influence has been felt, particularly in reference to the Fugitive Slave Law; and taken in conjunction with the rescue of Shadrach in Boston, and of Jerry in Syracuse, they have given a blow to that infamous statute from which it will never recover. In these demonstrations has been read the verdict of the public against that measure, and ever since their occurrence it has been felt to be practically a dead letter. Politicians may pay it feigned homage; Baltimore Conventions may pronounce it a "finality," and even here and there a miscreant like McAllister of Harrisburg, or Ingraham of Philadelphia, may be induced in occasional instances to exercise the odious functions of his office; but the heart of the people is against it; it is repugnant to the feelings of the masses; their abhorrence of the thing, and of those who attempt to execute it, has been manifested, and we hesitate not to say, that from this time forward it will have as little force as the old act of Congress of 1793, which it was designed to supersede.

THE ARRIVAL OF KOSSUTH.

Simultaneously with the trial of the Christiana prisoners, was the arrival on our shores of the distinguished Hungarian fugitive, Ex-Governor Kossuth. His advent to Philadelphia happened about two weeks after the close of the trials; and for the purpose of convicting this nation of its gross hypocrisy, and putting to shame its boastful professions of freedom, nothing could have been more opportune. The idea of this government welcoming with ovations a refugee from Austrian oppression, while baying on the track of fugitives from the infinitely more galling bondage of its own Southern borders, and the spectacle exhibited in such facts as that of Judge Kane leaving the treason trials to preside at a welcome banquet to the distinguished refugee, and that of the slave-catching Commissioner McAllister officiating in a triumphant Kossuth procession, were so preposterous, so egregiously absurd, as to attract the attention and excite the

remark, even of the most obtuse. The incongruity of our attitude as a nation was felt and acknowledged, and the result was, we trust, a good deal of wholesome and hopeful humiliation. Abolitionists spared no pains to improve the opportunity and make the most of the occasion, so that in spite of all the efforts to the contrary, the speeches and pageants to which the occasion gave rise, were made, in some way other, to inculcate a lesson hostile to American slavery. Whatever, therefore, may be thought of the course of Kossuth in this country, and however much and justly he may be condemned for his failure, by word or sign, to testify his disapprobation of our great national sin, we cannot help congratulating ourselves on the opportuneness of his visit, or believing that, on the whole, it was productive of good results to the cause.

RACHEL PARKER AND THE MURDER OF MILLER.

The next event claiming our attention was that commonly spoken of under the complex head of the abduction of Rachel Parker, and the murder of Joseph C. Miller. This was another outrage, differing somewhat in character from the *Christiana* prosecution, but in no wise inferior to it in atrocity. It is closely connected with that affair in its history, the evidence being strong to show that it was perpetrated, at least in part, in revenge for the killing of Gorsuch and the impunity extended to the *Christiana* prisoners. The facts of the case, as gathered from statements carefully prepared and published in the *Pennsylvania Freeman*, and from other authentic sources, were as follows :

From the *Pennsylvania Freeman* of January 8th, 1852.

We have received the following narrative of facts from a friend in this city, who went to the place where the act of kidnapping occurred, on Sunday last, to ascertain the truth of the reports which had previously reached us.

On the 31st ult., between 10 and 11, A. M. McCreary, the notorious Elkton kidnapper, knocked at the door of Joseph C. Miller, of West Nottingham township, Chester county, and was invited in by Rachel Parker, a colored girl. He came in, and the girl called Mrs. Miller. He at first feigned some inquiry about a neighbor, and while Mrs. Miller was answering, he seized the girl and claimed her as his prisoner. Mrs. Miller remonstrated, declaring that the girl was free, and had lived with her eight or ten years, &c. Finding him insensible to what she said, she seized the girl and endeavored to release her from his grasp. He tore her away, however, and ran with her a short distance, when he was met by an accomplice; and then they hurried her off to the road at the end of the lane, where a carriage was in waiting.

Before they reached the carriage they were overtaken by Mr. Miller, who had heard the girl's screams. He caught and endeavoured to release her from the grips of her abductors, when McCreary drew a dirk and threatened to run him through if he did not let her go. Finding his efforts dangerous as well as fruitless, he desisted, and they thrust her into the carriage and started for Maryland, being then but a mile or two from the line.

Miller raised the alarm among the neighbors, and a number started in pursuit. They traced the carriage to Havre-de-Grace, but arrived too late; the kidnappers had taken the cars for Baltimore. Miller and his friends followed in the next train. Arrived at Baltimore, they gave notice of their errand, and interested in it some of the friends of humanity, the most active of whom were Samuel Townsend and Mr. Cochrane. The girl was at length found in one of the slave pens of the city, where she was placed as a slave: but her alleged claimant was unable to identify her, and it was made manifest on the spot—to many at least—that she was a free woman.

McCreary was in the act of removing her, probably to some place where she would be under his control, when he was prevented, and a warrant having been taken out, he was arrested. He was carried before a Justice of the Peace, and after a partial hearing was bound over to appear again on the 7th instant. The principal witness against him was Joseph C. Miller.

After the hearing, Mr. Cochrane took Miller and his companions to his house, and having fears for their safety, kept them in till they had their tea and the hour arrived at which they were to start for Pennsylvania. They were then sent in a cab, or cabs, to the Depot. They entered the cars and took their seats. Mr. Miller, desiring to smoke a cigar, went out to stand on the platform. His companions followed him soon after, and not finding him there, they went out and looked at the other end of the car, but still seeing nothing of him, they turned to come into the car again, but in doing so one of them was tapped on the shoulder by a person who said a friend wished to see him "at the other end of the car, or car-house." Fearing some mischief, he gave no heed to the man, and re-entered.

The cars started. At Havre-de-Grace they looked through all the train for Miller, but did not find him. They then returned to Baltimore to make further search. Early in the morning they commenced inquiries, and continued them through the day, without effect. They finally returned without him. On the 2d instant his body was found near Stemmer's Run, nine miles from Baltimore, suspended to a tree, by two handkerchiefs tied together. His lower extremities were touching the ground almost from the knees.

Mr. Miller was a highly respectable farmer, in good circumstances, and there was nothing in his character, as there was certainly nothing in the circumstances, to justify the belief of suicide. He was not in the habit of carrying more than one handkerchief, and never wore a neck handkerchief.

Threats of violence had been used at Baltimore by the McCreary party, and a gentleman of our acquaintance is willing to testify that he heard a person in the Gorsuch party, after the treason trials, utter a distinct threat of hanging the first abolitionist that they should catch in Maryland. Our informant tells us that the universal impression in West Nottingham seemed to be, that Mr. Miller was foully murdered; and from all the facts we have thus far been able to glean, this is almost an inevitable conclusion.

A requisition for McCreary has been granted by Governor Johnston upon the Governor of Maryland. But as the Executive of that State feels especially called upon to extend its protection to suspected and convicted kidnappers, we do not feel any certainty of the requisition being complied with. We shall see, however, in a few days.

From the Freeman of Jan. 22d.

We announced last week that McCreary had escaped a trial for kidnapping the colored girl named Rachel Parker, through the testimony of a witness who swore that Miller, in whose family she lived, had not only admitted to him that she was the slave of Schoolfield, the claimant, but had even agreed, for a share of the reward offered for her arrest, to aid in restoring her to slavery! The testimony of this witness, whose name is John Merrit, will be found in another column, together with a pretty full report of the evidence that the girl was free, and of the post mortem examination of the body of Miller.

Of the freedom of the girl we entertain not one particle of doubt. The testimony to that effect could not well be stronger. She was alleged to have escaped from Baltimore four years ago, but respectable men testified that she had lived in the neighborhood of West Nottingham from her childhood, that they had known her parents for fifteen or twenty years, and could not possibly be mistaken as to her identity. The testimony on the other side is that of parties in interest; and a lady of Baltimore to whom the claimant's chattel was at service at the time of her alleged absconding, four years ago, to Pennsylvania, and of whom he desired to make a witness, testified that she stood prepared to state that the girl under arrest was "*not the girl*" that lived with her.

A petition has been filed for the freedom of the girl, and we cannot but hope that she may yet be saved from the doom to which the kidnapper and his accomplices would consign her.

From the Freeman of Jan. 29th.

We expressed the opinion, on a former occasion, that Joseph C. Miller fell a victim to the vengeance of Maryland kidnappers and their accomplices. We have now before us evidence which must remove from every candid mind all doubt upon the subject, and lead to the inevitable conclusion that he was murdered.

Letters from the neighborhood where Miller resided, inform us that his body has been carefully examined for the third and fourth times, and that poison was found in the stomach! The friends of the deceased were not satisfied with the post mortem examinations made in Maryland; and after the body had been brought home and buried, they insisted on having it taken up and re-examined. The examination was made by Dr. J. W. Hutchison, assisted by Dr. Dickey. The result is stated in a letter now before us, from a responsible source. On examining the neck there was found no contusion, extravasation of blood, or injury of the blood-vessels, as there must have been if his death had been produced by strangulation. The tongue was in its natural position, and not at all wounded, which is another proof that he did not hang himself. The stomach and bowels were found to be almost entirely empty, and in a highly congested, inflammatory condition. The villous coat was nearly destroyed. The vessels of the membranes of the brain were somewhat congested, and a small quantity of serum was found in the ventricles. The physicians felt confident that poison had been pretty freely used, and that the hanging did not take place till after death. The muscles under the marks on the back of the wrists were very much contused, and there was considerable extravasation of blood. It is probable that these marks were produced by handcuffs.

The body, after this examination, was again buried; but such was the anxiety and excitement prevailing in the neighborhood, that it was once more exhumed for the purpose of ascertaining, if possible, what kind of poison had been used. The Doctors (Hutchison and Dickey,) analyzed the

contents of the stomach and bowels, applying the usual arsenical tests, in a variety of forms, and in every instance revealed the presence of the poison.

There cannot, therefore, be the slightest doubt that the unfortunate man was killed by the administration of arsenic, and his body afterwards hung to the tree where it was found. The supposition that he took the poison voluntarily for the purpose of self-destruction, and hung himself besides, is too preposterous to be entertained for a moment. No. The poison must have been treacherously or forcibly administered by other hands than his own; and the guilty parties, to screen themselves from the consequences of their crime, unquestionably placed the body in the position in which it was found. Other circumstances corroborate this view of the case. If Miller came out to Stemmer's Run in the cars, he must have arrived there at a comparatively early hour in the evening; and if he committed suicide, it is natural to conclude that he did so immediately afterwards. Now there was a heavy rain during that night, but the clothing upon his body was found dry! How shall this be accounted for, except upon the supposition that the body was placed there by his murderers after the rain was over, when the poison had done its work, and they had had time to bring him, by some other conveyance than the railroad, from Baltimore? It is also stated, on reliable authority, that mittens were found on Miller's hands. How could he tie the knots with such an incumbrance? And if he took the mittens off for that purpose, is it to be supposed that at the very moment when he was to launch himself into eternity, he would carefully replace them? The supposition is absurd. Another fact should also be mentioned, viz: that the railroad ticket which Miller purchased at Baltimore was found in his pocket; whereas, if he had gone to Stemmer's Run in the cars, it would have been delivered to the conductor before reaching that place. The circumstances all point to but one conclusion, and that is, that Miller was foully murdered.

These extracts present all the material facts of this case, so far as have been developed, and give the impressions produced by them, not only on the mind of this writer, but upon the minds of the people generally, who have given any serious attention to the subject.

It was stated in the papers, that Governor Bigler, in the early part of March, had appointed Geo. M. Dallas and James Campbell, Attorney General of the State, to act as counsel in the case of Rachel Parker, but whether these gentlemen, or either of them, have ever done any thing in pursuance of their appointment, is a matter in regard to which the public have not been informed.

A number of friends in Baltimore have been deeply interested in this case from the beginning, and have been unsparing in their exertions to redress, as far as possible, the injuries which have been inflicted. Acting with the advice of counsel, they filed, as has been stated above, a bill for the freedom of the girl Rachel. This was done in the Baltimore City Court, where the case

would have a preference over other cases as to the time of trial. But the claimant, Schoolfield, took early measures to have it removed to the County Court, where it has been postponed from time to time, on account of other business. Meanwhile, Rachel is retained in jail by the claimant, although bail has been offered for any amount which he might require, and that by parties responsible pecuniarily to the amount of a million of dollars.

In the course of the developments made by the investigation of this subject, it appeared that Elizabeth Parker, a sister of Rachel, had been kidnapped away from the same neighborhood, and also carried off to the South. She was taken from the house of a man of the name of Matthew Donnelly, sold to Campbell, a slave-trader in Baltimore, and by him shipped to New Orleans, where she was again sold by his agent. It appeared that Matthew Donnelly and the John Merritt (alluded to in one of the above extracts) as a chief witness for McCreary, were active participants in the girl's abduction. Negotiations were entered into with Campbell, by the Baltimore friends, for her return. Campbell required a bond, with sufficient sureties, to indemnify him against all expenses and risks incurred, which being given, Elizabeth was brought back, and is now in custody at Baltimore awaiting her trial, in regard to which measures have been taken similar to those adopted in the case of her sister.

Thus the case now stands. What the result will be doth not yet appear. We may be able possibly to announce it in our next annual report.

This whole affair, like that of *Christiana*, though much to be deplored in its immediate effects, was not without its beneficial influence upon public sentiment. It has furnished new illustrations of the hatefulness of slavery, and the debasing and perverting influence of the system upon those who support it; it has added stimulus to the zeal of abolitionists, and brought into co-operation with them people who had before been their opponents. It has dispelled the false ideas of comity which prevailed among a portion of our citizens, in regard to what was due to their slaveholding neighbors, and taken away whatever desire was before felt to keep terms with them by watching over their peculiar interests. It has dissipated utterly any lingering respect that may have been felt for the fugitive slave law, and replaced

it, in the breasts of many at least, with the determination to stand by the interests of freedom at all hazards.

STATE LEGISLATURE.—PARDON OF ALBERTI.

Leaving this, however, and pursuing our review, the next circumstance that claims our attention is, the opening of the sessions of the State Legislature. This occasion was signalized by a veto message from Governor Johnson—his last official act—giving his reasons for declining to sign the bill passed at the previous session, repealing the 6th section of the Anti-Kidnaping Law of 1847. His refusal was based, so far as his message went, entirely on constitutional grounds, and his argument in support of it was regarded by persons competent to judge in legal matters, as entirely conclusive.

In strong contrast with the last act of Governor Johnson, was the first distinguishing act of his successor, Governor Bigler. This was nothing less than the pardon of the notorious Alberti. In the whole history of our commonwealth there has not been, perhaps, a more flagrant or inexcusable abuse than this, of the executive prerogative. Alberti is admitted to be a very Barabbas in character; so distinctly so, that when the people heard that Justice had at last overtaken him, and that he was placed where he could no longer pursue his hateful vocation, there was a general rejoicing. He had a fair trial, before a Judge who was never suspected of any anti-slavery leanings, and the twelve years imprisonment in the state penitentiary to which he was condemned, though a severe, was considered, nevertheless, a just penalty. But the state of Maryland, with a sympathy for a man of his trade more natural than creditable, determined to procure his discharge, and having no hopes of effecting this object through the regular process of law, they aimed to accomplish it by means of the executive clemency; accordingly, we saw citizens of that state laboring diligently during the gubernatorial campaign, to secure the election of a man who could be counted on to serve their purpose. Their labors were crowned with success, and the infamous Alberti, to the chagrin and grief of all respectable people, was again turned loose to prey upon society. This act of ill-advised clemency was received in all directions with strong expressions of dis-

approbation and even disgust, and the prevailing impression is, that it not only damaged the reputation of Governor Bigler, but injured materially, by its reaction, the cause of slavery and slave-catching.

THE LAW OF 1847.

The next circumstance to be noticed is, the attempt to repeal the "Act to prevent Kidnapping," &c., commonly spoken of as the *Law of 1847*. Governor Bigler, in his inaugural message, was distinct in denouncing and calling for the repeal of "the greater part of this law;" accordingly, bills to this effect were introduced into both branches of the Legislature. Vigorous efforts were made by the friends of Mr. Buchanan and other zealous propitiators of southern favor, to carry the measure through, but so entirely unsustained were they by public opinion, and so strong was the feeling of opposition to it, that the most they were able to accomplish was the repeal of the 6th section, imposing a penalty upon the use of our state prisons in the capture of fugitive slaves. The section reads thus:

"SEC. 6. It shall not be lawful to use any jail or prison of this Commonwealth, for the detention of any person claimed as a fugitive from servitude or labor, except in cases where jurisdiction may lawfully be taken by any judge, under the provisions of this act; and any jailor, or keeper of any prison or other person who shall offend against the provisions of this section, shall, on conviction thereof, pay a fine of \$500, one-half thereof for the use of the Commonwealth, and the other half to the person who prosecutes, and shall moreover thenceforth be removed from office, and be incapable of holding such office of jailor or keeper of a prison at any time during his natural life."

It will be noticed, that the repeal of this section does not make it obligatory upon our jailors to receive fugitive slaves into their prisons, but only removes the penalty which was before attached to their so doing. They are still at liberty to exercise their own option in the matter, and we have but little fear that our jails will be any more used now for this purpose than they were before the act of repeal. The opposition made by the abolitionists to the striking out even of this section, was not from the fear that the efficiency of the law would be thereby materially impaired, but because they thought it an uncalled-for and degrading concession to insolent demands, and one that could not be made without dishonor to the state. As for the

rest, the law is still as good as we could well ask, and the sycophants of slavery, after all their efforts, have gained but a barren victory. The act still stands, with its stringent provisions against kidnapping, taking away all jurisdiction in the cases of alleged fugitives from the hands of judges, aldermen, and justices of the commonwealth, by a heavy penalty; holding the slaveholder responsible for any tumult he may create in the attempt to recapture his human property; throwing new safeguards around the right of Habeas Corpus; and putting an end to the old law, which allowed the slaveholder to bring into and keep his slaves in the state for the space of six months. This most excellent law, we say, still stands on the statute book, safe, we trust, beyond the danger of repeal. It has passed the ordeal of its enemies, and remains to serve its triple purpose—as a sign of anti-slavery progress, a partial protection to the hunted fugitive, and a barrier to the merciless cupidity of the kidnapper.

The other measure which had been promised during the election canvass, and to which the party had been in some respects pledged, namely, the introduction of a bill to prohibit the immigration of all colored people into the State, was attempted in due time, but very soon abandoned. A man by the name of Blair, from Centre County, the only person, it seems, who could be found to move in the matter, introduced into the House of Representatives the following bill, which was read and referred to one of the Committees:—

“AN ACT TO PROHIBIT THE EMIGRATION OF NEGROES AND MULATTOES INTO THIS COMMONWEALTH.

“SEC. 1. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, in General Assembly met, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, That from and after the passage of this act, it shall not be lawful for any negro or mulatto to come into or settle in this Commonwealth; and any negro or negroes, mulatto or mulattoes so coming, immigrating or moving into this State, for the purpose of settling therein, shall be liable to an imprisonment of not less than two or more than nine months upon conviction thereof.

“SEC. 2. That any person or persons employing or otherwise encouraging any such negro or mulatto to emigrate into, settle, or remain within the bounds of this Commonwealth, shall be liable to a fine of not less than fifty or more than one hundred dollars, to be recovered as other fines of like amount are recoverable.

“SEC. 3. That such fine or fines so recoverable shall be paid into the treasury of the proper county until demanded by the overseers of the poor

of the township to which the offences enumerated in the foregoing sections of this act shall have been committed, who shall apply it to the use and comfort of the poor in their charge.

"SEC. 4. It shall be the duty of the overseers of the poor in the different townships, wards or boroughs of this Commonwealth, to make information and prosecute to conviction all persons violating the second and third sections of this act; and any overseer of the poor who shall knowingly neglect or refuse so to make information as aforesaid, shall be liable to the fines imposed by the second section of this act."

This was too gross an outrage upon humanity and decency to be patiently tolerated. The press spoke out against it in indignant terms, and from every quarter came such manifestations of disapprobation, that the mover of the scheme was left without support, and the bill was allowed to sleep in the hands of the Committee to which it had been referred.

PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATIONS—THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION.

We come now to the epoch in the year's history marked by the holding of the political conventions for the nomination of candidates for the Presidency. It is true that but one of these conventions was held in this State, but the action of the other two was connected so closely with the interests of the cause in Pennsylvania, as to bring them very properly within the purview of this report.

The first in order was the Democratic Convention, which was held on the 1st of June, and, as usual, in the city of Baltimore. The most prominent candidates for nomination before this body, were James Buchanan, General Cass, and Senator Douglass. The great struggle between these gentlemen was for the votes of the Southern delegates. The claims of all, in this respect, stood boldly prominent. The friends of General Cass could refer to his Nicholson letter, and to the remarkable "change" which his "mind had undergone," when he became converted from a friend to an opponent of the Wilmot Proviso. Senator Douglass's soundness on this point had never been questioned, while in addition to this, he was understood to be himself a large slaveholder in the right of his wife, and an earnest advocate to boot for the conquest and annexation of Cuba. But superior to those of both these gentlemen stood the claims of Mr. Buchanan. In addition to many years of faithful service as an "ally" of the slaveholders, he had the

advantage of having made the earliest as well as most liberal concessions on the part of liberty to the peculiar institution. He had offered to run the Missouri Compromise line of 36 deg. 30 min. clear through to the Pacific Ocean, giving to slavery all the territory south of that mark. It is true, that George M. Dallas, another distinguished Pennsylvanian, went even beyond this, and proposed to alter the Federal Constitution itself so as to guard the slaveholding States against any diminution of their political power, and to secure to them unmolested the enjoyment of their peculiar institutions.* But as this proposition came rather late in the day, and as something more is requisite, even in the eyes of slaveholders, than mere submission to their pleasure, it so happened that Mr. Dallas did not get a single vote during all the ballottings of the Convention. The lesson taught by this humiliation came too late, perhaps, to be of any service to the individual most affected, but it is to be hoped it will not be altogether lost upon other political aspirants, when casting about for expedients to aid them in their purposes. The result of the proceedings of the

* In a letter to Mr. Bryan, of Texas, written last summer, Mr. Dallas said:

"With me there is no doubt, that if my countrymen be given the legitimate opportunity, they will expressly and unqualifiedly prohibit, sooner or later, what I have heretofore humbly believed they had by the strongest implication already prohibited. They will prohibit from being forced by the sophistries of zealots to enact the part of consolidation; they will place the constitutional cannon, too palpably for misconstruction, against the self-slaughter of intermeddling with institutions and rights exclusively of State creation, State responsibility, and State control; they will render it impossible, by any process, short of treason or revolution, to convert the confederacy into the means of destroying the equality of its own members, or to direct its energies to fulfil the behests of some higher law, starting up like the cyultica of the minute, from the ever-ranging and incalculable phantasies of the inner man. . . .

"At last it has become quite manifest (has it not? and why repress our convictions?) that the expectation fondly indulged, of tranquillizing the country by legislative measures, is delusive. The act for the extradition of fugitives is the pretext for protracted and persevering war upon the guarantees of the constitution; and if we are to raise the siege to which that instrument is still subjected, can we do better than reinforce it from the arsenal, and with orders from the people? I desire nothing so much as the safety of the Union—place it beyond the striking distance of cunning as well as mad fanaticism—do this, if you can, without resorting to the final remedy; but if you cannot, then give to the constitution an express, positive, prohibitory amendment, which shall for ever end the entanglements and pretexts of interpretation."

Convention, with its numerous balloting, showed that while General Cass got a very large Southern vote, Mr. Buchanan received a still larger one; but that that of neither was large enough to secure the nomination. It was discovered, unfortunately for these gentlemen, that there was a North as well as a South, and that in their eagerness to secure the support of one section of the country, they had forfeited the confidence of the other. The consequence was that, after some forty-eight ineffectual balloting, the choice of the Convention fell upon a new man—General Franklin Pierce, of Concord, New Hampshire. This selection was thought at the time—and probably is yet—a very happy one, as in the nominee was combined a number of apparently incompatible but highly desirable qualifications, which it was supposed would commend him to the favor of all classes. Like Mr. Polk, who had succeeded in 1844, he was a new man and unknown to fame; like General Jackson, he was distinguished by a military title; like Martin Van Buren, he was a northern man, and like him, a northern man with southern principles. A son of New Hampshire, he might be counted on to carry the New England and Northern vote generally, while as a politician of the John C. Calhoun school, he would be sure to command the confidence of the most ultra slaveholders of the South. Such a happy conjunction of available qualities marked him as the man for the emergency, and accordingly he was declared to be the unanimous choice of the Convention. To make assurance doubly sure for the South, William R. King, an Alabama slaveholder, of the extreme class, was put upon the ticket for Vice-President, and a schedule of principles was adopted so ultra pro-slavery, as to leave to the Southern propagandist little more to ask. The following were among the resolutions adopted:

“IV. *Resolved*, That the foregoing proposition covers and was intended to embrace the whole subject of slavery agitation in Congress; and therefore the Democratic party of the Union, standing on this national platform, will abide by and adhere to a faithful execution of the acts known as the Compromise Measures settled by the last Congress, ‘the act for reclaiming fugitives from service or labor’ included; which act, being designed to carry out an express provision of the constitution, cannot with fidelity thereto be repealed or so changed as to destroy or impair its efficiency.

“V. *Resolved*, That the Democratic party will resist all attempts at renewing, in Congress or out of it, the agitation of the slavery question, under whatever shape or color the attempt may be made.”

Such is the position of the Democratic party of the United States at the present moment, and such as we have above described is the character of its chosen standard bearers.

THE WHIG CONVENTION.

Turn we now to its great rival, the Whig party, whose Convention was held in the same city, and only about two weeks later. This body also laid down a platform of principles, the history of which may be thus stated: A portion of the Convention was suspected of disloyalty to the South, and were known as advocates of the nomination of a candidate highly objectionable to that section of the country: accordingly the slaveholding delegates, uniting with men from the North of the same class, demanded the adoption of certain propositions, which they submitted as an indispensable preliminary to the choice of a candidate. These propositions, after some slight modification, were adopted, one of which was as follows:

"VIII. The series of acts of the 31st Congress, commonly known as the Compromise or Adjustment (the act for the recovery of fugitives from labor included,) are received and acquiesced in by the Whigs of the United States as a final settlement, in principle and substance, of the subjects to which they relate; and so far as these acts are concerned, we will maintain them, and insist on their strict enforcement, until time and experience shall demonstrate the necessity of further legislation to guard against the evasion of the laws on the one hand, and the abuse of their powers on the other, not impairing their present efficiency to carry out the requirements of the constitution; and we deprecate all further agitation of the questions thus settled, as dangerous to our peace, and will discountenance all efforts to continue or renew such agitation, whenever, wherever, or however made; and we will maintain this settlement as essential to the nationality of the Whig party and the integrity of the Union."

Here is a proposition which, though not altogether so unqualified, is quite as replete with the spirit of despotism, and as ruthless in its antagonism to free speech, and all efforts in the direction of emancipation, as either of those adopted by the Democratic Convention.

The next and most important act of the Convention was the nomination of a candidate, and in this was exemplified one of the most striking exhibitions of poetical justice that it has been our lot lately to witness. It was for this Convention that Daniel Webster had for the last four years lived, and moved, and had his being; for this he had apostatized from the faith

of his New England education, had betrayed the interests and honor of his native State, had deserted to the ranks of Southern slavery, and placed himself at their head; had preached a crusade against the anti-slavery agitation, and had stirred up a spirit of persecution, which in this State for a while threatened the lives of some of our most worthy citizens. In return for these services and sacrifices Mr. Webster hoped for, and confidently expected, the Presidential nomination. Never were hopes more ruthlessly dashed, nor confidence more bitterly disappointed. The Convention was composed of 294 members, making 148 votes necessary to a choice. The most that Mr. Webster received at any one time was thirty-one, and of these not one was from the south of Mason and Dixon's line. The slaveholders had used him as long as his services were of any avail, and when they had no further need of him, they cast him aside like a worn-out garment. It is true that the delegates from Mississippi, a State that would not have begun to vote for him if he had been nominated, called to see him afterwards at his lodgings, to assure him of their undiminished regard and admiration, declaring, at the same time, that the Southern delegates had been eager to vote for him, and would have done so on condition that he had received forty votes from the North; but the condition only made the case more humiliating, and the mention of it brought no comfort. "I am much obliged to you, gentlemen, for your assurances," said Mr. Webster, "but history will take no account of them: there stands the record." Yes, and there will stand the record as long as the political annals of this government shall exist, a warning to all profligate politicians who may be tempted to barter their honor and sell their souls to secure the suffrages of Southern slaveholders.

The case of Millard Fillmore, though in a smaller way, may serve a similar purpose. He too had lent himself to the South, and during his official term had used the influences of his station to promote the slaveholders' purposes. He signed the Fugitive Slave Bill, and was prompt and energetic in the use of means to carry it into execution. He set his face against all the liberal tendencies of his party, and in other ways rendered such substantial service to the upholders of slavery as to command their implicit confidence. But the measures which

gained him the trust of southern slaveowners, forfeited for him the respect of northern freemen; and when, after many ballots, the vote was taken which decided the question, it was found that he was not the choice of the Convention. General Scott was the successful candidate.

If what is said of General Scott by his political enemies were true, abolitionists would have some reason to regard him with favor. They say that he is an enemy to southern institutions; that he is in heart opposed to slavery, and if elected to the Presidency, that he would lend his influence to those who are laboring to limit and finally overthrow the system. In proof of this they point to the fact, that he refused to hold the slaves which were left to him as an inheritance, and that, though born in Virginia, he preferred to make a free State the place of his residence; that among his supporters are some of the most notorious enemies to the system, and that in one of his letters, written as late as 1843, he went so far as to say that he was "persuaded that it is a high obligation of masters and Slaveholding States to employ all means not incompatible with the safety of both colors, to meliorate slavery, even to extermination." This looks very well as a commendation to abolitionists as far as it goes, but there is one pregnant fact which is a set-off against it all. General Scott accepts the nomination *with the resolution annexed*. He does so in good faith, on his honor as a man and a soldier. He stands forth before the people, on a platform admitted by one of the most distinguished of his friends fit only to be "spit upon," himself pledged to the support of its basest provisions.

This is General Scott's attitude before the public. The idea of any danger coming to southern slavery from aggressions on his part, is simply preposterous. He stands committed to a schedule of principles as thoroughly pro-slavery as that of the other party, and in this respect, whatever may be said of his antecedents and surroundings, there is nothing to choose between him and his Democratic rival. A true anti-slavery man can give his support to neither.

FREE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION.

Next we come to the Free-soil Convention, or, using the

title by which they now style themselves, the Convention of the "Free Democracy." This was held at Pittsburg on the 11th of August. It was a large and respectable assemblage, made up of delegates from most of the Free and some of the Slave States, and represented that portion of the anti-slavery feeling in the country which seeks expression in distinct political action. The meetings of the Convention are said to have been pervaded by a great deal of the genuine abolition spirit, and the speeches and proceedings, generally, to have been marked by a much higher tone than those of the previous Convention which was held at Buffalo. The Convention attracted attention, and excited a good deal of interest throughout the country, from the effect it was supposed its proceedings would have upon the pending contest between the two great parties. As in the other Conventions, so in this, a platform of principles was adopted, the most important of which, on the subject of slavery, was as follows:

"That slavery is a sin against God and a crime against man, which no human enactment or usage can make right; and that Christianity, humanity, and patriotism, alike demand its abolition.

"That the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 is repugnant to the constitution, to the principles of the common law, to the spirit of Christianity, and to the sentiments of the civilized world. We therefore deny its binding force upon the American people, and demand its immediate and total repeal.

"That the doctrine that any human law is a finality, and not subject to modification or repeal, is not in accordance with the creed of the founders of our government, and is dangerous to the liberties of the people.

"That the acts of Congress known as the Compromise measures of 1850, by making the admission of a sovereign State contingent upon the adoption of other measures demanded by the special interest of slavery; by their omission to guarantee freedom in free territories; by their attempt to impose unconstitutional limitations on the power of Congress and the people to admit new States; by their provisions for the assumption of five millions of the State debt of Texas, and for the payment of five millions more and the cession of a large territory to the same State under menace, as an inducement to the relinquishment of a groundless claim, and by their invasion of the sovereignty of the States and the liberties of the people through the enactment of an unjust, oppressive, and unconstitutional Fugitive Slave Law, are proved to be inconsistent with all the principles and maxims of Democracy, and wholly inadequate to the settlement of the questions of which they are claimed to be an adjustment.

"That no permanent settlement of the slavery question can be looked for, except in the practical recognition of the truth, that slavery is sectional, and freedom national; by the total separation of the general government from slavery, and the exercise of its legitimate and constitutional influence on the side of freedom; and by leaving to the States the whole subject of slavery and the extradition of fugitives from service."

The Convention next proceeded to the election of candidates, and with much unanimity chose for the Presidency John P. Hale, of New Hampshire, and for the Vice-Presidency, George W. Julian, of Indiana; men who we doubt not will compare well with the nominees of the other parties, in point of talent and character, and whose position on the slavery question is of course much superior.

It ought to be stated in passing, that Mr. Hale, unlike General Scott, in accepting the nomination, did not accept the "resolutions annexed." At least, there is no evidence on record that he considers himself bound by the platform of principles adopted by the Convention.

In expressing ourselves thus of the Free Democratic Convention, we will not be understood of course as implying any approval of that movement as a means of promoting abolition, or any change of opinion on our part in regard to political action. What we state is simply matter of fact, and such as is proper to be here recorded; and if we express ourselves with more than usual satisfaction, it is because the Convention, both in its candidates and proceedings, furnish indications of anti-slavery progress which from that source are more than usually cheering. That the party, in some of its modes of action renders valuable service to the cause we have no doubt. In the speeches at their Conventions, and in the discussions of their newspapers, there is of course much anti-slavery truth uttered, all of which must do good. Anything that will keep up discussion on the subject of slavery, that will reveal the atrocity of the system, and serve to show the duty of its abolition, will do good. But something more than this is necessary to entitle a measure to the sanction of abolitionists. A slave insurrection, by directing public attention to the subject, and eliciting truth, such as is needed to enlighten the minds of the people, might possibly do some good; as might also, in the same way and to the same extent, the occasional slaughter of a slave-catcher; but to infer from this the propriety of adopting either of these measures as a means of promoting abolition, would be to reason very illogically. There are considerations of moral principle and enlightened policy which have always forbid a recourse to anything of the kind by abolitionists. The same is true of political action under

the Federal Constitution. There are reasons of sound expediency and moral principle, which make it impossible for the consistent and uncompromising abolitionist to approve of or co-operate in this mode of action. These reasons it is unnecessary here to recapitulate; suffice it to say, that so long as the Constitution provides, as it does, for the recapture and extradition of fugitive slaves; for the suppression of any revolt by the slaves against the tyranny of their masters; and for the enjoyment by slaveholders of extra political power, it will be impossible for abolitionists consistently to vote for any one to an office, whose inaugural oath will compel him to maintain and execute the provisions of this document. The Constitution of the United States, and the pro-slavery laws under and in accordance with it, form a platform as really pro-slavery as either of those adopted by the Whig and Democratic Conventions at Baltimore; and an abolitionist who acts on principle can no more vote for a person to take office under one, than a Free Democrat can give his suffrage to a candidate pledged to the support of either of the others. It may satisfy the consciences of some, in either of these cases, to say that they "repudiate and spit upon" the platform, while they vote for the candidate who endorses it, but to unsophisticated minds this will be no justification of the act, nor proof of its consistency. In taking such ground, abolitionists put themselves on a level with their opponents, and reduce the whole question of voting to one of mere expediency. In the present case the question would be, 'Which would be the most likely on the whole to subserve the interests of the anti-slavery cause—to vote for John P. Hale, or for the more favorable, whoever they may be, of the other two candidates'? a question in the discussion of which, with an adroit opponent, an abolitionist might find himself placed at serious disadvantage. The anti-slavery man who makes no compromises, has no difficulty on this subject; he can vote for neither of the candidates; neither can he do any other act which fairly implies his approval of the Federal Compact. This is the ground occupied by this Society. Its logical soundness has been tested by the severest scrutiny, and its advantage as a matter of policy proved by years of experience.

But, though we form no political organization, and, in the

common acceptation of the term, "take no part in politics," it cannot be said that we take no *interest* in political matters. On the contrary, on every important question that comes before the public, we feel a lively interest ; we watch every movement with vigilance, and speak out our minds, both as to men and measures, without fear or favor. So far as this is concerned, we do take a part in politics, and such a part as makes our influence felt at every election. In this way we believe we do more than it would be possible for us, by the formation of a party, or in any other way, to fulfil the "obligations" acknowledged in our original Declaration of Sentiment "to remove slavery by moral and political action."

RELEASE OF CAPTAIN DRAYTON.

Having given an account of the great political Conventions, we have but little further to add, of an historical nature, in our retrospect of the year. Other incidents, of course, have happened deserving of note at the time, in an anti-slavery point of view, but none of sufficient general importance to make them worthy of record in this place. One exception may be found, perhaps, in the release from their long confinement in prison, of Captains Drayton and Sayres. Captain Drayton was a Pennsylvanian, and his ill-fated, but well-intended expedition, was projected in Philadelphia ; facts which give him especial claims on the sympathies of this Society, while on our part as abolitionists we must feel a deep interest in one who has suffered so much for the cause of freedom. Captain Drayton was immured in the prison at Washington city for the space of four years and five months. To have served out the whole period to which he was originally condemned, he would have had to remain there a half a century longer ; such being the penalty, in this Democratic country, of bold acts like his in favor of human liberty ! His liberation, with that of his companion, was accompanied by the incessant efforts of his friends throughout the country, made effectual ultimately by the instrumentality of Charles Sumner, member of the Senate from Massachusetts. Mr. Sumner succeeded so far in interesting the President in Drayton's favor, as to secure his promise of pardon, in case he could be satisfied of his own legal power to grant it. The proof of this was accord-

ingly furnished in a legal argument, drawn up by Mr. Sumner, and approved by the Attorney General of the United States—as a consequence, the pardon was signed, and both the prisoners were set at liberty. This one good act of Mr. Fillmore will, of course, be duly set down in his favor, and will go for what it is worth in extenuation of his many offences against freedom; at the same time it will be admitted by all, that the act would have been worth much more if it had come at an earlier period of his administration; and before instead of after the Presidential nomination.

It is proper to add, in regard to Captain Drayton, that his health was materially impaired by his long confinement; so much so that it is doubtful whether it will ever again be fully restored.

THE MURDER OF WM. SMITH.

We stated in another place that three cases of re-capture and extradition of slaves had taken place, within our knowledge, during the last year. There was one other case, however, in which the victim, though captured, was not delivered up. This was the case of William Smith, who was arrested under a warrant from McAllister, but who, attempting to escape, was shot dead on the spot by his claimant. The circumstances of the transaction are thus given in the *Pennsylvania Freeman* of the 5th of May:

MURDER BY A SLAVE CATCHER.

The soil of Pennsylvania has been baptized in the blood of a man claimed as a slave! The deed was perpetrated at Columbia on Thursday last, April 29th, by a Police officer from Baltimore, named Ridgeley. The facts in the case are thus stated by the *Columbia Spy*:

“Deputy Marshal Snyder, from Harrisburg, and a police officer named Ridgeley, from Baltimore, came to Columbia with a warrant issued by Commissioner McAllister, of Harrisburg, to arrest the fugitive, named William Smith, who was engaged piling lumber in the yard of Mr. Gotlieb Sener. According to the testimony given before the Coroner’s Jury, the two officers repaired to where Smith was working, and as he was proceeding to the wharf seized him. Smith endeavored to escape, and whilst doing so, and in the custody of the officers, (as the verdict of the Coroner’s Jury shows,) Ridgeley drew a pistol and shot him, the ball entering the right side of the neck, just below the ear. Smith fell, and expired in a few minutes, without uttering a word. The officers then left—as Ridgeley said, to deliver themselves up to the proper authorities; but as afterwards proved—at least so far as he was concerned—to escape from justice. Shortly after the occur-

rence he passed over the Columbia bridge, since which time nothing has been heard of him. The Deputy Marshal, Snyder, started for Harrisburg in the evening train, which left about 7 o'clock.

"By some means—we hardly know how—the perpetrator of the murder (we cannot call it by any other name, although he was engaged in a legal proceeding,) was allowed to escape—a fact which evinces a culpable degree of negligence on the part of our citizens; for no matter what the circumstances were under which Ridgeley shot Smith, not what his motives were in committing the act, he should have been arrested and held until the matter was properly investigated. Various rumors are in circulation, but we prefer not saying more than we have said—which we believe is strictly correct—until the whole affair is inquired into by the legally constituted authorities.

"At 7 o'clock in the evening, (sickness having prevented him from doing so before that hour,) J. W. Fisher, Esq., Deputy Coroner, held an inquest over the deceased, and the jury rendered the following verdict:

" 'William Smith came to his death from the contents of a pistol fired by — Ridgeley, whilst the said Smith was in the custody of said Ridgeley, and Deputy Marshal Snyder of Harrisburg.' "

The murderer escaped to his home in Baltimore. A telegraphic despatch from that city gives his version of the affair as follows:

"He says, that having arrested the negro, he was surrounded by an excited and infuriate crowd of negroes, and in order to intimidate them, as well as the alleged fugitive, he drew his pistol. The crowd continued to press upon him—endeavoring to rescue the negro, who also made violent efforts to escape, and got his (Ridgeley's) finger in his mouth. Having the pistol in his other hand, under the sudden impulse of pain and excitement, he pulled the trigger, and the ball passed through the body of the negro, causing his almost instant death. With great difficulty Ridgeley escaped to Shrewsbury, and thence to Baltimore, where he is now seeking legal advice.

"The negro killed at Columbia, was the runaway slave of Mr. Stansbury of this city. Officer Ridgeley declares that the shooting was altogether accidental."

Samuel Evans writes from Columbia to The Tribune as follows:

"The first witness who testified before the Coroner's Jury, says, that he was standing on the steps at Parson's hotel, when Ridgeley called him out, and asked to him that they were going to take a slave, and wanted him to go with them and assist. He accompanied them, and saw Snyder touch Wm. Smith on the shoulder. The witness then ran away immediately to some distance. In a very short time he heard the report of a pistol. Snyder and Ridgeley, a moment afterward, made their appearance, the former very much frightened, and exclaiming that "Ridgeley had shot the man." Another witness testifies that he saw Snyder and Ridgeley have hold of the colored man—Snyder of the left, and Ridgeley the right shoulder. The deceased was pulling away, when Ridgeley placed a pistol against his neck and fired. Poor Smith fell dead instantly.

"There was no effort made to rescue Wm. Smith, though he was within one hundred feet of at least a dozen colored men, who were at work in the lumber-yard. The perpetrator of the murder was allowed to escape—a fact which will forever stain the character of our law-abiding citizens.

"Ridgeley made his escape to Baltimore, taking a by-road, (as has since been ascertained,) around the town of York and Strasburg, to avoid detection. When he arrived within the borders of the State of Maryland he took the cars for Baltimore.

"The Sheriff of York County was advised by telegraph to get out his posse, thinking R. would arrive in the cars."

The deceased (William Smith) had resided in Columbia a year and a half, and has left a wife and two children, who will at least have the consolation of reflecting that the husband and father is not a slave ! It is not pretended that Smith was armed, or that the lives of the officers were in any way menaced. He struggled (as who would not ?) to escape a fate worse than death, and for this he was shot down like a dog by the ruffian slave-hunter. For loving liberty, and attempting to save himself from being torn forever from his wife and children, he was inhumanly murdered !

The most melancholy part of this story was the apathy with which the relation of it was received by the public. An innocent man was shot down in the street, in open day, by a known slave-catcher, and no indignant burst went up from the people or the press, and no proper steps were taken by the authorities to arrest the perpetrator. When the slaveholder, Gorsuch, was slain by the hand of the man whom he sought to enslave, the whole State was thrown into excitement ; the press denounced vengeance upon the author of the deed ; a strong civil and military force was sent to the scene of the tragedy ; some thirty-five or forty innocent persons were seized and dragged from their homes to prison, and the combined powers of the Government, Federal, State and Municipal, were put into requisition to bring them to punishment. But when an inhabitant of our own State was shot down by a citizen of Maryland, the press recorded the transaction in the briefest possible terms, with no words of manly indignation ; the offender was allowed to escape with impunity ; and until this day nothing has been done in the matter to satisfy justice and vindicate the insulted honor of the State. The last that we heard in regard to the affair, was the adoption of a resolution by the Maryland Legislature, directing Governor Lowe "to appoint Commissioners to collect facts, and confer with the Governor of Pennsylvania" in regard to it. Whether the Commissioners were ever appointed, and if so, whether Governor Bigler was so far unmindful of what was due to the honor of the State, as to enter into a parly with the Maryland Legislature, instead of demanding the surrender of the murderer, we have not heard, though the inference, in the absence of all evidence to the contrary, is, that our Governor proved as tractable in the hands of the slaveholders as they could have desired, and that these gentlemen had no difficulty in hushing up the matter entirely to their own satisfaction.

THE CHURCH.—BISHOP POTTER.

We have always been in the way, in our Annual Report, of speaking somewhat at length of the religious aspect of our cause, or in other words of the indications afforded in regard to it by the Church; but on this occasion there is little that needs to be said on this point. The religious sects of Pennsylvania present themselves in no new phase, nor are there any signs visible to us of anything like a general improvement among them on the question of anti-slavery. There are a few churches in which the spirit of progress is alive, and a few faithful ministers, as we have had occasion before to state, and some of whose names we have mentioned; but they are exceptions. As a rule, the ministers are on this subject "dumb dogs who cannot bark," and the churches are "twice dead and plucked up by the root."

Among the exceptions, however, there is one name which we have not before noticed, and which it may be proper here to refer to—that of Alonzo Potter, Bishop of the Episcopal Church of Pennsylvania. We mention him with the more pleasure, as the church to which he belongs, and more especially the branch of it over which he presides, is most glaringly derelict on this subject to the principles of the Christian profession. As an evidence of the character both of the Bishop and the church, we give the following account, taken from the *Pennsylvania Freeman*, of the proceedings of the Diocesan Convention held in Philadelphia in the month of June last:

A BISHOP'S BLOW AT CASTE.

The Pennsylvania Diocesan Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church was held in this city during several days of the last week. Perhaps no other Protestant denomination in this country has been so little affected by the anti-slavery agitation as this, and certainly no other has treated the claims of the slave with greater indifference or more uniform contempt; and yet its stereotyped forms, its stately and unbending arrangements, and the subtlety of its aristocratic leaders have not been sufficient wholly to ward off the great question which is testing at once the republicanism and the Christianity of the American people. Indeed it would seem to be an ordination of Providence, that this question, in one form or another, should disturb the stagnant and malarious peace of every branch of our modern Zion. In the Convention above referred to it came up quite legitimately upon the presentation of a claim on the part of the *colored* 'Church of the Crucifixion' to be represented upon the floor. The lay delegates appointed by that Church, as it happened, were *white*. Immediately after the Convention was opened, a motion was made by Mr. Ashurst to admit those delegates to seats; but the subject was temporarily postponed.

The question, it seems, had been before the Convention at its meeting last year, and a Committee had been appointed to take it under consideration and report at this session. That Committee submitted two reports; one in favor of the admission of the delegates, signed by three members, the other signed by two members, and denying, on technical grounds, the right of the colored church to be represented. The first was introduced by Judge Stroud, the last by Joseph R. Ingersoll.

The whole matter was now open for discussion in the Convention, and an exciting debate followed, which is very meagerly reported in the daily papers. Among those who spoke on the right side was Rev. Nathan Stern, of Norristown, once a Vice-President of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society. He stated that the great objection to a union of the Churches of St. Thomas, the Crucifixion, &c. with the Convention, was, that the congregation had dark skins. Why, so had Cyprian, Tertullian, and other lights of the Church in ancient times. He contended that the eighth revised regulation was not only unconstitutional, but had acted most injuriously, in restricting the increase of the Protestant Episcopal faith among the colored population. He deprecated the action now proposed, of dissolving the union, and asked what was to become of the congregation if turned out. He alluded to the inconsistency of sending missionaries to foreign lands and yet treating the colored people close at hand with negligence and contumely, by dissolving the bonds that now unite them with the Convention, hazarding, by the act, the welfare of the congregation that has been gathered together with such fond hopes of ameliorating the condition of the class composing its members.

Mr. F. J. Wharton stated, that the colored members of the Church of the Crucifixion were excluded from voting for vestrymen, because of the provision of the charter, that citizens of Pennsylvania should alone have that right. This was, however invalid by law, so that there was actually nothing to prevent this congregation from exercising their rights.

Rev. Mr. Harris viewed the colored members of the Church as mere pupils to be transplanted for the full enjoyment of liberty in another land (!) He would vote against the admission of the church in full union with the Convention, though he was in favor of doing all that could be done for their moral and religious benefit; they should still be fostered and kept under the wing of the Church. (!!)

One of the arguments against the admission of the white delegates this year, was, that the Church might send colored ones at some future time, which would of course put the Convention in a most uncomfortable 'fix.'

After a great deal of discussion on both sides, Bishop Potter, by common request, took the floor, and made a most eloquent appeal in behalf of the colored race. Having incidentally learned that the Bishop had read 'Uncle Tom's Cabin,' and avowed himself intensely interested and profoundly moved by it, we were not surprised that he made such an appeal. His speech is thus sketched by *The Ledger*:

"He would have been willing to pass at once to the decision of the subject; but, as the Bishop of the Diocese, peculiar responsibilities rested upon him, not only for the present, but for the prospective effect upon the Church at large, and especially as it regards the path that now more than ever seems to open towards that afflicted race. If the admission of these delegates be refused, the Church will afford them but little hope or sympathy for the future. It becomes us, before taking this step, to anticipate what may be its effect upon the preaching of the word among this down-trodden race. The measures adopted by the Diocesan Convention in 1775, were deemed proper by the good men who then participated in the councils of the Church,

but the peculiar circumstances that then existed have been most wonderfully changed, both at home and abroad, and the responsibilities of the Church are also changed. In Jamaica, where, fifty years since, groined the down-trodden bondman, the colored men now occupy seats at the bar, on the bench, in the pulpit, and the black man will be met at the table of the Governor; and in all the social circles he is respected and honored. In France, too, if admitted to a seat on the floor of the Legislature, you may perhaps be seated beside a man whose skin is not colored like your own; and is it, he asked, in the Diocese of Pennsylvania alone, that no step has been taken except backward? Is it possible that an association of white persons for the benefit of the colored race, shall now and forever be excluded from union with this body, not because of the color of the delegates, but because those who send them are of that afflicted race? And shall this circumstance alone throw around them a pestilential atmosphere, to exclude their representatives; and this too, among the votaries of the Christian church, by the disciples of Christ, who directed that His gospel should be preached to the poor?

This downward step, he said, he was not prepared to take, if the clergy within his diocese were. It was a step that not one of us but would wish to recal, when we come to stand in the presence of him who sitteth upon the throne at the last great day. We shall then feel that we should have had more faith in our religion, more trust, as Americans, in our institutions, than to fear that the admission of a few poor negroes would be sufficient to shake these institutions to their very centre."

The vote was then taken upon the motion to admit the delegates from the Church of the Crucifixion. The clergy voted in the affirmative, 49 to 35; the laity in the negative, 27 to 23. The motion requiring the concurrence of both orders, was therefore lost.

It is not often that the clergy in these days, and upon questions like this, get ahead of the laity, but so it was on this occasion. The probability is, that the lay delegation from the Churches in this city was composed, in good part, of men who are largely interested in the business of saving the Union, and who, keenly as they may have felt the rebuke of Bishop Potter, were at the moment too sulky to 'conquer their prejudices.' Some of them may perhaps think better of it another year.

The noble stand taken by Bishop Potter cannot fail to exercise a wide and healthful influence in the Episcopal Church in this and other States. He has struck a blow at Caste which few men were in a position to strike so effectually. May we not hope that his bold example will encourage other eminent men in the Church to perform the duty demanded of them by Him whom they profess to serve, and whose mission it was to preach deliverance to the captives and the opening of the prison to them that are bound?

If our clergy generally were of the spirit here manifested by Bishop Potter, the profession would cease to be a bye-word among the people, and the Church, under their ministrations, would "arise and shine," "clear as the sun, fair as the moon, and to the hosts of unrighteousness, terrible as an army with banners."

OPERATIONS OF THE SOCIETY.

Turning from the general aspects of the cause to our own particular organization, we have to report that our operations all go on harmoniously and with cheering evidences of success. The only change we have to note, is the retirement of C. M. Burleigh, in the beginning of the year, from the editorial chair, a post which he had occupied with so much advantage to the cause and satisfaction to his readers, in order to enter another field of active effort, where his services were more imperiously demanded. Oliver Johnson took the place vacated, while Mr. Burleigh entered upon the labors of a lecturer in the interior of the State, where he prosecuted his work with great fidelity and success. About the first of April, a period of the year at which our lecturing season usually closes, he withdrew from the field; but he has again returned, invigorated in health, and prepared to prosecute his labors with increased energy.

The Pennsylvania Freeman was again enlarged at the beginning of the year, and the price further advanced from \$1.50 to \$2.00 per annum, a measure which we are happy to say, was accomplished without any diminution of its subscription list, and, as we believe, greatly to the improvement of the paper in the way of interest and usefulness.

The Annual Fair last year was an eminently successful one, both as an expedient for replenishing the treasury of the Society, and as a means of binding in a closer union its members. Too much credit cannot be awarded to the Female Anti-Slavery Society of Philadelphia and their co-laborers in the country, for their faithful and self-sacrificing industry in this department of effort.

The sale of Anti-Slavery books during the year has somewhat exceeded that of previous years, principally owing to the publication of the now world-famous work entitled "Uncle Tom's Cabin." The demand for this book has been very extensive, and its wide circulation has carried Anti-Slavery truths into families and neighborhoods throughout the country, from which they had before been excluded. The popularity of the work has given rise to other publications of a somewhat similar character, and on different sides of the question, the effect of which has been to increase the agitation, and greatly to augment public

interest in the subject. "Uncle Tom" has also been dramatised, and played in one of our theatres in Philadelphia, as in other cities, to crowds of admiring and approving people; the whole furnishing a most cheering sign of the progress of our cause, and the triumph to which it is destined.

On the whole, we close as we begun, full of hope and confidence. The labors of the year have been crowned with highly encouraging success, and we look forward to the future with the most sanguine expectation. The skies are bright, and the signs were never more propitious; all that remains for us is to persevere with faith and patience in the use of the means which we have thus far found so effectual. Our plans need no change, nor is there any necessity for resort to new expedients. The simple instrumentalities of tongue and pen, are all that are required for the accomplishment of our purpose. These used judiciously, boldly, and righteously, will prove mighty to the correction of error, and the overthrow of the most gigantic iniquity. They will gradually improve the religious sentiment of the people, surely modify their political action, and finally so change the character of the rulers and of the laws of the country, as to make the overthrow of slavery a natural and inevitable result.

JAMES MOTT, President.

J. M. McKIM, Corresponding Secretary.

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY.

PRESIDENT.

JAMES MOTT.

VICE PRESIDENTS.

EDWARD M. DAVIS,
BENJAMIN C. BACON.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

J. MILLER McKIM.

RECORDING SECRETARY.

HAWORTH WETHERALD.

TREASURER.

SARAH PUGH.

ADDITIONAL MEMBERS.

LUCRETIA MOTT,
ROBERT PURVIS,
MARY GREW,
OLIVER JOHNSON,

MARGARET JONES,
CYRUS M. BURLEIGH,
E. F. PENNYPACKER,
ABBY KIMBER.

APPENDIX.

FIFTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society convened in its Fifteenth Annual Meeting, at the Horticultural Hall in West Chester, Tenth mo., 25th, 1852. The Assembly, which was large, was, at the opening of the meeting, mainly composed of the well-tried working abolitionists of this and neighboring States.

The President of the Society, James Mott, at 11 o'clock, took the chair and called the meeting to order.

In the absence of the Recording Secretary, on motion of J. M. McKim, C. M. Burleigh was appointed Secretary, and Dr. J. A. Rowland and Alice E. Humbleton Assistant Secretaries.

On motion of C. M. Burleigh, the following Business Committee was chosen: Oliver Johnson, Thomas Whitson, Mary Grew, M. B. Linton, W. L. Garrison, J. M. McKim and Lucretia Mott.

The following persons were appointed a Committee for the nomination of officers to the Society for the year ensuing:

Simon Bernard, Elizabeth R. Lewis, E. F. Pennypacker, Rebecca Pierce, Chandler Darlington.

On motion of J. McKim, it was voted that when the Society adjourns it be to meet again at 2 o'clock P. M.; and that the regular hours of meeting be at 9½ and 2 P. M. and of adjournment at 12½ and 5 P. M.: also that meetings for addresses be held this evening, and to-morrow evening, at 7 o'clock.

Lucretia Mott remarked, that on coming together after a year's separation, it is natural that our religious feelings should be excited. While objections are felt to a formal service of prayer at the opening of our meeting, it is well that we all cultivate a prayerful spirit. Last year some of us came to our anniversary with saddened and anxious hearts, almost desponding in view of the persecutions we were witnessing and enduring for righteousness' sake. But our resolutions were as unyielding in principle and as bold in spirit as ever, a fact remarked by spectators. Now, those who have observed the fulfilment of our hopes and predictions, come together rejoicing, and with songs of melody and thanksgiving in our hearts. It is meet that this feeling should awaken devotional aspiration, and find expression. She therefore proposed a brief period of silence.

After a short silence, Lucy Stone said: My friends, it seems to me that you who have been so long workers in this holy cause must feel that it is a religious spirit that animates the hearts and sustains the hands of its laborers, and that without this support their hands would hang down in despair. God's great heart is in our movement, giving it the vitality and power that it possesses.

Though this is the first time that I have been among you, and most of your faces are strangers to me, I recognize in you the long-tried and true friends of the slave, who, on the frontiers of slavery, and through peculiar trials, have been faithful to him. While the world around you has been scrambling for power, honor and gain, you have known that there is a higher power and honor, and a richer wealth, which moth and rust cannot corrupt,

nor thieves take away. You who have worked so well, know the need of continued and increased labor. There are more slaves now in our country than ever before; slavery is stretching out its territory and increasing its markets, and gaining more power. But while this is true, we also have cause for encouragement. While the political parties are bowing to the demands of Slavery and religious sects are joining hands with them to send the poor fugitive back to a life of torture and woe, we have now recruits coming to our help. Men and women, before inactive and silent, are coming as our co-workers, bravely to contend against the Wrong, while the slave's enemies are one by one falling and going to that bar where they must answer for their wrongs to him. Let us find where our strength is; in the arm of Him who is higher than the highest, and stronger than the strongest; then, though hand join in hand, their power shall be broken. A single human thought is stronger than they.

Lamartine said of Wilberforce, that he went up to the throne of God with a million of broken fetters in his hands. Let us labor to bear with us such trophies of our fidelity. There are fetters to break, not in the South alone, but in your own State. It has been truly said that slavery has made it into another Guinea Coast. We want to see its people repudiate the Fugitive Slave Law. I want to see here such scenes as I saw at Syracuse in the great meeting to commemorate the rescue of Jerry from his hunters. [Here followed a touching narrative of the meeting between Captain Drayton and Frances Russel, one of the seventy-seven fugitives of the schooner Pearl, and a sister of Emily Russel, who starved herself rather than be sent to the New Orleans slave market.] The speaker went on to make an impressive appeal for anti-slavery labor, enforcing it with pertinent facts and appropriate quotations. She did not agree with Gerrit Smith, that this nation had sinned away its day of grace, and that its reform was hopeless; but she believed that if all who recognize the wrong of slavery would join hands in the work, we might ere long present our country to the world, redeemed from this crying sin, a nation truly free and just. It only needed the firm purpose and steady toil; the faith and purpose that flattery cannot seduce, nor persecution daunt. Abolitionists must be men who "would not flatter Neptune for his trident, nor Jove for his power." They need that courage which, when the trial comes, as at Christiana, will be firm, by which they will choose the prison, or be hung, rather than falter.

Some one having expressed the desire that Mr. Garrison, who was too hoarse to speak, should go upon the platform, that the people might see him if they could not hear him:—

Lucretia Mott wished that we should not come together to glorify each other. Our platform is free for all, but let us call no one upon it to show himself merely as a spectacle to the meeting. Theodore Weld once replied to a proposal of a vote of honor to himself. "Let us strike a level above which no abolitionist shall raise his head; let us drop a curtain behind which every abolitionist shall work, and there dig his grave."

Joseph A. Dugdale; after remarking that he never felt more religious than in such a meeting as this, read several passages of Scripture, appropriate to the occasion, and offered vocal prayer.

The Society then adjourned to 2 o'clock P. M.

Afternoon Session.

The Society, met as adjourned, the President taking the Chair.

The Treasurer's Report was read by the Secretary as follows:

Pennsylvania State Anti-Slavery Society—Report for the Year ending 10 mo., 1st, 1852.

RECEIPTS.

Balance on hand, on last year's account	-	-	-	-	\$66 89
Philadelphia Female A. S. Society	-	-	-	-	1000 00
Clarkson	-	-	-	-	40 00
Individual subscriptions	-	-	-	-	2268 21
Loans, without interest	-	-	-	-	150 00
Rent	-	-	-	-	218 75
Sundries	-	-	-	-	113 50
Publishing agent	-	-	-	-	2781 16

6638 51

Balance due Treasurer

133 72

\$6771 23

PAYMENTS.

Anti-Slavery Standard	-	-	-	-	\$566 66
Pennsylvania Freeman	-	-	-	-	3215 63
Salaries of agents and Editors	-	-	-	-	2033 60
Rent of office	-	-	-	-	350 00
Assistants in office, carriers, &c.,	-	-	-	-	408 00
Sundries (including Job printing, fuel, wrapping paper, &c.)	-	-	-	-	144 00
Post Office	-	-	-	-	63 34

\$6771 23

Philadelphia 10mo. 1st, 1852.

ABBY KIMBER, Treasurer.

The undersigned, appointed, by the Executive Committee to audit the Treasurer's account, reports that the above abstract of the receipts and expenditures for the past year, is correct; and that on the first of this month there was due the Treasurer a balance of \$133 72. HAWORTH WETHERALD.

Philadelphia 10mo. 22, 1852.

The Fifteenth Annual Report of the Executive Committee to the Society, was read by J. M. McKim, the Corresponding Secretary. It reviewed clearly and forcibly and with some minuteness of detail, the history of the anti-slavery cause in the State during the past year; drawing from that history lessons of encouragement and hope to cheer us on in our work; and evidences that the wicked devices of our enemies had been overruled by an all-wise Providence to the promotion of our cause.

C. M. BURLEIGH moved that the Society instruct the Executive Committee to publish the Report in a pamphlet form. He regarded its historical facts as too important and its comments as too pertinent and instructive, not to have a wider publication and more permanent form than could be given them in this meeting.

LUCRETIA MOTT suggested that the Report was open to criticism and discussion.

J. M. McKim thought such discussion and criticism desirable; that if the Report contained errors of fact or sentiment, they might be pointed out, and thus the opportunity be given for correction before it was printed.

THOMAS WHITSON objected to the admission in the Report, that good might come out of evil, or that the wrong action of our enemies might have done service to our cause. He thought the cause had gone forward in spite of

such acts, and that it would have gone forward more rapidly had these wicked acts never been performed. Had the colored men who shot Gorsuch only resisted by moral power, refusing to serve the slave holder, and choosing to die themselves rather than submit to him, or kill him, it would have told more for Freedom than it did tell. Everything brings forth after its kind. God helps those who help themselves. We helped ourselves, and God helped us, and let us not give the honor to our enemies. If we have triumphed over their wicked designs, it is owing to ourselves, not to them.

J. M. McKim remarked: The Report says, that though good *may* have come from wrong action, there are moral obligations which forbid us to resort to such action. Thomas Whitson admits all that we claim, when he says, that had the colored people at Christiana acted differently, their action would have done more for freedom than it did, thus conceding that it did *something* for it. We believe, as he does, that God works by eternal laws, and that by one of those laws the evil purposes of bad men are over-ruled for good. It is God's eternal law that Truth uttered, whether by words, or dramatically in the facts of life, must have its appropriate effect. It is done in this case, by the atrocious law showing the character of slavery, the responsibility of the North for it, and the danger arising from it to the rights of Northern men. Thus God "makes the wrath of men to praise him;" thus he "takes the wise in their craftiness, and carries the counsels of the froward headlong."

DR. TREGO hoped, whatever difference there might be concerning incidental expressions in the Report, that it would be published.

WM. WEBB thought the comparison of the action of the Free Democratic party with a slave insurrection was disrespectful.

J. M. McKim remarked that a passage of the Report concerning John P. Hale had been accidentally omitted in the reading. Its substance was, that while both Franklin Pierce and General Scott had publicly accepted the platforms of their parties, Mr. Hale had not accepted the Free Democratic platform, and that we had no evidence that he adopts its principles.

THOMAS WHITSON continued the discussion, defending his position and illustrating it further.

C. M. BURLEIGH asked if there was not in man's moral nature, as in his physical, a reactive power, by which cruelty and wrong stimulate it to greater activity, as a cold application to the surface of the body may increase its vital heat? May it not be that the Fugitive Slave Law itself, by its very atrocities, has awakened many men and women to active sympathy for the slave, and to actual opposition to slavery and the slave law, who, but for its passage might have remained indifferent to the subject? If so, has it not thus far been the means of working good? Harriet Beecher Stowe states, that she was moved to write Uncle Tom's Cabin, by the passage of this law. Could we measure precisely the amount of evil produced by the Law and of good wrought by the Book, and ascertain, as is probable, that the latter sum exceeds the former, might we not justly say that, with all its cruelty, the law has been the means of doing good? May it not be that thus "all things shall work together for good to such as love God?"

LUCRETIA MOTT did not like the sentiment in the Report under discussion, and regretted its introduction. We should attribute all good to the Infinite Source of good. The evils of the Fugitive Slave Law are infinite. Ask the colored people, whom it has scattered like sheep upon the mountains, what can compensate them for their sufferings and terrors and losses. See how it has corrupted the Northern people, and how easily men, at first shocked at it, have become reconciled to it. This speculation is incapable of demonstration. It opens a controversy without end. Is it not better to speak of evil as evil, not deducing from it any consequences which do not strictly

belong to it? Does it not tend to weaken our abhorrence of wrong? There is nothing easier than to quote texts of Scripture in favor of any theory, as every sect supports its faith by such texts. I am not willing to admit that Harriet Beecher Stowe was moved to write *Uncle Tom's Cabin* by that law; if she says so, I think she mistakes the influences which have moved her. I believe, rather, that it has been the moral sentiments and truths promulgated by the *Liberator*, the *National Era*, and the public discussion of the subject, upon her pure mind, exciting it to feel for the oppressed. If you point to the progress of our cause, through persecution, as evidence that the efforts of its enemies have helped it on, I have as good a right to say that, but for these impediments, slavery would have been abolished before now. I hope the Society will instruct the striking out of these passages of the Report.

J. M. McKIM, while acknowledging the many and great evils of the Fugitive Law, was encouraged and made more hopeful by the proofs that it was working mischief to its inventors and their cause. It is an inspiring thought that God is supreme, and can turn the craftiness and malice of bad men against themselves. Without this confidence we might be disheartened and faint in view of the seeming triumphs of wrong. This principle has been recognized by the good of every age and nation. It is almost a universal conviction. That many persons have been stimulated to active anti-slavery efforts by the passage of the Fugitive Law, who were before indifferent or less active, is well known. Mrs. Stowe, as has been said, testifies that it prompted her to write *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, and I prefer to receive her statement to Mrs. Mott's unsustained supposition. Theodore Parker has been excited by it to far more zealous and efficient action. So it is with thousands of others. We heard Mr. Garrison remark the other day, that a gift of millions of dollars to the anti-slavery treasury could not have done our cause so great a service.

ELI HAMBLETON thought, if acts like the Fugitive Law promote our cause, we should not regret them, but should try to multiply them.

MARY GREW regretted the theological character of the discussion. The question, she said, resolves itself into this: whether Satan is in the grasp of God; whether Good is mightier than Evil; whether God in his counsels and purposes can be defeated by wicked men, or is able to bring their schemes into confusion and break their covenants of sin; whether, whatever man may do, God cannot and will not overrule all for the ultimate good of his creatures and order of his universe? That the Fugitive Law has done evil, is known, but if you had no theory to maintain, you must also admit that it has done some good. It has shown to thousands the ugliness and loathsomeness of slavery, unseen before; it has caused a healthy abhorrence and indignation against the whole system, of which this is a fruit. It is because that wrong must ever be self-defeating; because all the mighty enginery of earth cannot prevail against the omniscience and omnipotence of God, that we trust confidently in our success. It is because we believe that God holds under his control, and himself governs the Universe.

After a few more words from Thomas Whitson, an evening meeting was appointed for addresses from Lucy Stone and Mary Grew, and the Society adjourned until to-morrow morning at half past nine o'clock.

The meeting through the day had continued to increase in attendance, until the large hall was well filled by a highly intelligent audience, who listened with close attention and deep interest to the Report and the discussions upon it.

In the evening, the hall was crowded, a large proportion of the audience being citizens of West Chester. Impressive addresses were given by Mary Grew and Lucy Stone, and were evidently received with much favor by the assembly.

Third day Morning.

The Society met, as adjourned, the President taking the chair. The minutes of yesterday's meeting having been read by the Secretary, the motion to publish the Annual Report in pamphlet form, was adopted unanimously. The business committee, through its chairman, Oliver Johnson, presented the following resolutions:

"1. Resolved, That, under a deep sense of our dependence upon the God of Justice and Truth, in whose strength alone are we qualified to engage successfully in a moral conflict with oppression and wrong, we joyfully embrace the opportunity now afforded us to re-affirm before our country and the world, in the light of another year's experience, our abiding conviction of the soundness of the principles upon which our society is based, and of the wisdom of the measures we have hitherto pursued for the overthrow of slavery.

"2. Resolved, That, however visionary our plans and purposes may appear to those whose sense of justice is blinded by interest or warped by passion, and however our motives may be impeached or our reputation assailed, we must continue to proclaim in the ears of our countrymen the duty and safety of Immediate Emancipation, and the right of the slaves to freedom and a home upon the American soil.

"3. Resolved, That we reject as absurd and impious, the doctrine so often promulgated from the pulpit and the press of this country, that there is a conflict between the claims of abstract justice and the rights of the slaves on the one hand, and the interests and welfare of the people on the other; and assert, on the contrary, the Divine law of Human Brotherhood—that what justice demands for the oppressed, it demands, not for their sakes alone, but for the conservation of free institutions and of all that pertains to the rights and the happiness of the whole people.

"4. Resolved, That he is neither a true patriot nor a true christian, but an enemy to God and the human race, who teaches his countrymen to enslave their fellow-men in order to ensure the stability of a free government, and to restore the fugitive slave to his master, in order to fulfil the compromises of the constitution; and that if there be any sacredness in the commands of God, or any truth in the monitions of history, the direct tendency of such teachings is to deaden the sympathies, harden the hearts, and blunt the moral sense of the people, and lead the nation to swift destruction.

"5. Resolved, That we have signal cause for rejoicing in the fact, that the dark and threatening cloud which hung over our pathway at the time of our last anniversary is now happily dispelled; that the efforts of the Chief Magistrate of the country, and others in authority, to revive, for the defence of chattel slavery, the odious doctrine of Constructive Treason, to put down the anti-slavery movement, and blot out the hopes of the enslaved by the terrors of the dungeon and the gibbet, have proved abortive; and that the American people are becoming slowly but surely imbued with a sentiment of abhorrence of slavery, and are gradually opening their eyes to the truth, that its existence is as incompatible with their own interests and welfare as it is with the law of God and the inalienable rights of its victims.

"6. Resolved, That we pronounce the Fugitive Slave Law a masterpiece of legislative iniquity, infamous alike in its origin and objects; that the attempts of the two great political parties of the country to make it a 'finality,' to silence all discussion of its provisions and all opposition to its inhuman workings, are an insult alike to the intelligence of the American people and the spirit of the age; and that, in view of the utter impotency

of all such efforts and of the constant increase of anti-slavery agitation, we may well indulge the hope that, by the might of a public opinion more potent than any legislative decree, it has become practically a DEAD LETTER upon the statute book.

"7. Resolved, That in the failure of Daniel Webster, Millard Fillmore, James Buchanan, Geo. M. Dallas, Lewis Cass, and Stephen A. Douglass, to secure a nomination for the Presidency as the reward of degrading and competitive subserviency to the slave power, we witness a signal exhibition of retributive justice, and that, notwithstanding the Conventions of the Whig and Democratic parties made slavery the 'head of the corner' in the construction of their respective platforms, we have occasion to rejoice in the fact, that large numbers of the people who belong to those parties at the North are giving unmistakeable indications that they do not mean to be bound by the pledges of their leaders, and that whoever may be elected to the Presidency, they do not intend to relinquish the freedom of speech and the press, nor bow their heads under the yoke of the slaveholders.

"8. Resolved, That, independent of all questions as to the meaning of particular clauses of the constitution, and whether it be admitted or denied that it contains certain guarantees for the benefit of slavery, the effort to establish a union between States that are slaveholding and States that are free must in the nature of things be abortive, since the legislation demanded by the former is diametrically opposed to that required by the latter; and therefore we reiterate the doctrine of the American Anti-Slavery Society, 'NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.'

"9. Resolved, That the scheme of African Colonization, as prosecuted by the African Colonization Society and its auxiliaries, being founded upon an unreasonable and unholy prejudice, and virtually denying, as it does, the equal brotherhood of those who wear a dark complexion, continues to excite our deepest abhorrence; and that, in view of the extraordinary efforts of its supporters to impart to it new life and vigor, and especially in view of the sanction recently given it by the Legislature of Pennsylvania in the conditional contribution of funds to its treasury, we deem it our duty to lift up anew, and with undiminished earnestness, our testimony against it, and to claim for our colored fellow-citizens, both bond and free, the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness upon this their native soil.

"10. Resolved, That, in view of the increasing willingness of the people of our State to read anti-slavery books and papers, and to listen to anti-slavery speeches, it will be our duty during the coming year to make a vigorous effort to extend the circulation of *The Pennsylvania Freeman* and other anti-slavery journals, and sustain as many qualified lecturers as our ability will allow, that by these means the gospel of anti-slavery may be widely diffused, and our State and nation be redeemed as speedily as possible from their bondage to the slave power."

The resolutions were accepted for discussion, and on motion of O. Johnson, it was voted to take them up separately for action.

The first resolution was taken up and read by the Secretary.

OLIVER JOHNSON, though not able to take part in the discussion, invited the utmost freedom of remark by all present. He thought there was danger that we should wait too much for the speakers who were among us from abroad, and take too little personal interest and responsibility in the work of the meeting.

LUCRETIA MOTT moved the adoption of the resolution.

CHANDLER DARLINGTON remarked, that the resolution commended the wisdom of the measures the Society had hitherto pursued. The Society had changed its measures since its formation. It formerly went for poli-

tical action but now it condemns it. How then can it approve the wisdom of its former measures?

OLIVER JOHNSON replied, that the Society did not disparage political action, except such as is inconsistent with anti-slavery fidelity. It did condemn such action, under the Constitution of this Union, as binds us to sustain its pro-slavery Compromises, but no other. He saw no evidence that we had changed our ground in any other way than that we had found a new application of our principles, another bond holding us to the slave system.

CH. DARLINGTON said, the Society had once encouraged voting, but now discouraged it. The Declaration of Sentiment had commended political action.

C. M. BURLEIGH saw no inconsistency in our approval of our past course of action, admitting that we had changed. Our aim from the beginning had been to clear ourselves from all responsibility for slavery, and take the most effectual course for its abolition. If in our progress we had found that for this end we must change our action in some respects, that very change was proof of fidelity to our cause, and matter for future commendation. But the Society had never commended voting nor encouraged it. An incidental approval of political action was very far from an approval of an Anti-Slavery party, or of voting at all under the constitution of our country. There were other kinds of political action besides holding office or voting men into office.

MRS. MOTT believed the Society had never pursued the measure of voting. Our measures, as described in the Declaration of Sentiment adopted at the formation of the American Anti-Slavery Society, were to organize Anti-Slavery Societies, to send forth agents; to circulate books, tracts, and periodicals; to seek to enlist the pulpit and the press in the cause of the suffering and the dumb; to aim at the purification of the churches from the guilt of slavery; and to encourage the labor of freemen instead of slaves. Nothing was said of voting, and probably nothing was thought of it. Whatever acts upon the parties and politics of the country is thus far *political action*. Our exhibition of the political and economical evils of Slavery and advantages of Freedom, our exposure of the aggressions of the slave power in and through the government, are such.

W. L. GARRISON said: I have the reputation of being a very rash man, and deserve it this morning in attempting to speak, while suffering as I am from soreness of my throat and lungs. Being the author of the Declaration of Sentiment, I may be supposed to know its meaning as it lay in the mind of the author. It laid down certain great principles and general measures, but it could not define every duty or measure which lay before us. It left it to each successive hour to reveal its peculiar duties in the light of these principles. We could not see the end from the beginning. Our duty was to see to it that we in no way compromised the rights of the slave. Our friend will not say that the Declaration of Sentiment requires us to do a pro-slavery act. On the contrary, it lays on us the strongest injunctions to make our position, our words and actions, our entire influence anti-slavery. We resolved to attempt the purification of the church; but who believes that this implied that we must become church members? So we resolved to aim to purify the government, but did this any more imply that we must become members of the government? Every man must judge for himself of both those relations, whether they would compromise the rights of the Slave or not. To his own master he must stand or fall.

The position of this Society upon the Constitution is well known. We

hold that it contains certain wicked compromises of the rights of the Slave. It gives the Slaveholders a political representation for their slaves, thus bribing them to hold and multiply their human chattels. I cannot swear to give such power to Slaveholders. Does our Declaration of Sentiment require me to do it? On the contrary, its principles and spirit forbid such an oath. So of the obligation to put down a slave insurrection and return fugitive slaves. To be faithful to the principles of that Declaration, I must stand outside of a government organized upon pledges to do such acts. So if I find that the church of which I am a member is pro-slavery, as I recognize its Christian character by that membership, I must stand outside the church.

Yet I may exert both a political and religious influence. He is not the only politician who votes. That man is the greatest politician who exerts the greatest political influence, who does most to shape the character and policy of the government, though he never votes. Our friend need not be apprehensive that we shall cease to influence the government when we cease to vote. No persons are more vigilant of the action of the government and the political parties than the no-voting abolitionists. I believe none do more to make Free Soil votes. Where are the most Free Soil votes cast? As a general fact, just where there are most abolitionists disfranchised for conscience' sake and the slave's sake.

The Devil of temptation always says, "Do a little evil to do a great good. It is the best we can do under the circumstances. They are bad. I wish they were better, but we must take them as they are and yield to them." Now this is false and fatal counsel. I have no right to take a false position, or do an immoral act to put down Slavery.

Why should not abolitionists be satisfied with their principles and position! Their principles are acknowledged by the nation and the church as true, though they do violate them daily. The abolitionists are honest men, their opponents are dishonest: the abolitionists are consistent, others are inconsistent; they are pious and christian men, their enemies are impious and unchristian. Both we and our opponents assert that "all men are created equal." We try to carry out the principle, and they treat it with contempt and disregard. This Anti-Slavery movement is a new advent of Jesus of Nazareth. In it he is applying new tests to the people and church. The rulers have not believed on it. Capt. Rynders and his ruffian club, mob it. The parties and churches and mobs are combined to crucify the Anti-Slavery Messiah.

You may not look for the true Christian church, or the true Christian ministry outside the Anti-Slavery cause. It is animated by the same spirit and sustained by the same power, as was the great Christian Reform of eighteen centuries ago. God is moving in it, and therefore nothing can intimidate us or stay its progress. When a man like Daniel Webster seeks to crush it, he lifts his puny arm against God.

We have seen much during the past year to encourage us. Even in the action of the Baltimore Conventions there are hopeful signs.

It is a significant and instructive fact, that every candidate for the nomination who had sought the office by extraordinary devotion to the slave power was defeated. It is well known also that General Scott was not the candidate of the South. For fifty-three ballotings they went in a body for Millard Fillmore, and for fifty-three times the North said, No! For the first time the North stood firm and triumphed. This is no reason that any abolitionist should vote for Scott, but it is still a mark of progress. Then, that sixty-six men should vote against the Whig platform with the certainty that their success would insure the defeat of their party, is unprecedented in the history of the two parties of the country.

We cannot vote for either Scott, Pierce, or Hale, for neither occupies a position in which an abolitionist can stand. Neither the Free Democratic party nor Mr. Hale demands the abolition of the slave representation or of the provision in the Constitution for the returning of fugitive slaves. It is true they call for a jury trial for them; but is this anti-slavery, to give to a jury the power to doom innocent men and women to slavery? Never can we in the remotest manner acknowledge such a right. What matters it to the fugitive, whether a jury or a commissioner delivers him to his hunter? It is our duty and purpose to chain liberty for the slaves, and deny the right of any power, through any forms, to send back to slavery those who have fled from it.

At the close of Mr. Garrison's speech, the first resolution was adopted, and resolution No. 2, was taken up and read, and ably discussed by Mrs. Mott, Wm. H. Topp, of Albany, N. Y., and Thomas Whitson.

The importance of Abolitionists pressing more upon the public mind their great foundation principle, *Immediate Emancipation without expatriation*, was urged.

Mr. TOPP condemned in strong terms the Colonization Society, and spoke with the earnestness and feeling learned from a painful experience, of the cruelty and injustice towards the people of color fostered by that Society, calling upon every abolitionist to maintain not only the right and duty of immediate emancipation, but the right of every colored man to a home here as a freeman upon his native soil. He stated that he was a member of the Free Democracy, and should vote for Mr. Hale, and with an impressive sincerity and candor of manner he briefly gave his reasons for so doing, desiring to hear this matter further discussed, that he and other sincere Abolitionists in his position, might be set right, if wrong.

THOMAS WHITSON replied forcibly to the inquiries of Mr. Topp, showing that an adherence to the U. S. Constitution was incompatible with the principle of *immediate emancipation*, as that was a compact to protect slavery for a time longer. When we empanel a jury, he continued, to try the right of a man to freedom, we compromise that principle. We should never permit the question to be considered. It is blasphemous to consider it. I would as soon be consigned to slavery by Ingraham as by a jury. There is doubtless a great difference between the character of the Free Democratic candidate and that of Pierce or Scott, but in the position of agreeing to wrong they are alike. They all compromise principle for the present advantage to their party. If all the world should vote a wrong principle right, or a right principle wrong, it would do nothing to prove it true. The pirate himself does not perpetrate a greater outrage than Ingraham. Any one of us would choose death rather than that fate. Our principles compel us to reject the religion and the politics which sanction such abominations. We demand the liberty of man, law or no law, Constitution or no Constitution. I see men whom I love, men who are too good for their position, joining in political action under this Government. But this is a question of principles, not *men*. The Constitution protects the institutions of the several States, Slavery included; it delivers the runaway slave to his master. Now if the contract is good, let us keep it in good faith; if bad, let us discard it openly.

Some allusion being made to Charles Sumner, one of the audience asked if Mr. Sumner did not procure the release of Capts. Drayton and Sayres?

Mr. GARRISON replied: What if he did? Does it prove his position sound as a Senator of the United States, or that it is moral to swear to sustain the Constitution? A man may do many good and anti-slavery acts, while his position is pro-slavery.

God forbid that I should take a leaf from the laurels of Mr. Sumner, but

honor should be rendered to whom it is due. While much credit is due to Mr. Sumner for his efforts for the release of Capts. Drayton and Sayres, that release was not primarily owing to him. Paradoxical as it may seem, those men were probably largely indebted for their deliverance to Lewis Cass and Stephen A. Douglass. These gentlemen had made eloquent speeches in favor of the intercession of this Government for the pardon of O'Brien, Meagher and Mitchell. The Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, by way of kindling a back fire upon slavery, sent a memorial to the Senate asking for similar action in behalf of Drayton and Sayres. This memorial Mr. Sumner, to whom it was sent, never presented. But a few days later, while he had it in his pocket, Senator Clarke of Rhode Island, presented a memorial precisely similar, from anti-slavery men in R. I., which was respectfully received, referred, and reported on. Mr. Sumner remained in Washington from December to April, without ever calling upon Capts. Drayton and Sayres, or expressing in any way to them his sympathy for them. In the mean time active efforts were made by their friends in many parts of the country to procure their pardon. I forbore, in the *Liberator*, to criticise Mr. Sumner's silence or his neglect to present our memorial; until one of the petitioners wrote to me for information respecting it, and I published his letter with brief comments. Then Mr. Sumner went to Drayton and Sayres, and represented to them that it would be inexpedient to present the memorial, and they of course yielded to his advice. Then he went to the President, and he consented to grant the pardon, if his power to do so were proved to him. Mr. S. furnished a satisfactory argument and the pardon was granted. Mr. Garrison continued at some length in support of the resolution, showing immediate emancipation to be the only Christian or safe principle for the Slaveholder.

The President stated that the pardon of Captains Drayton and Sayres was due in a great measure to the efforts of Captain Drayton's wife, who spent weeks and months in going to the prosecutors, and procuring their consent for his liberation. Prof. Cleveland of Philadelphia had also been very active in his exertions for the same object.

J. M. McKim added that no man had been more untiring and faithful in his exertions in behalf of those prisoners, than our late friend Nathan Evans, who should never be forgotten in the acknowledgments for their release.

Mr. McKim alluded also to Mr. Topp's remarks on political action, expressing much pleasure at their spirit. It was the spirit of many others, who took similar ground. The partizan spirit is passing away. Now our difference is of opinion merely; and sometimes not even that. Some of our voting friends confess that we are right in principle; but they cannot resist the temptation to vote under the peculiar circumstances of every election. Expediency is their plea; so it is with Whigs and Democrats. But upon grounds of expediency alone our course is wise. Its policy is as clear as its principle. Our numbers are insignificant and contemptible compared with the great parties. As moral reformers, our power depends not on numbers, and though few, we are mightier than they. But instead of awing the South by a display of numbers at the ballot-box, we only show our weakness. Such a display misrepresents the abolitionists. The South regards it as the whole anti-slavery force; whereas if we made no display of numbers, our power and numbers would be estimated by the proofs of our influence. Therefore, if any party has a right to complain of bad policy, it is we who may do it of our political friends. Their action has done our cause serious damage. In the beginning of our movement we took no ground upon voting, and said little or nothing about it, but left every man to vote as he pleased. In the progress of our movement new duties have been shown us, and among them that of going out of pro-slavery parties and a pro-slavery

government. Yet in some sense we are all politicians. We deal with government, laws, parties and politicians, and they feel our influence. The Free Democrats of Syracuse, N. Y., were unwilling for Lucy Stone to leave there to attend our meetings, for they said her speeches made the people so abhor slavery, that while she persuaded some Free Democrats to be consistent abolitionists, she induced more Whigs and Democrats to become Free Democrats.

MR. GARRISON said, that of all the Free Soil members of Congress, Mr. Giddings was the most faithful, and that he was always ready to welcome such speakers as Mr. Pillsbury and Mr. and Mrs. Foster, as lecturers in his district; for though they did not spare him, they made an anti-slavery sentiment there, which would sustain him. He knows that they are unsurpassed in beating the bush, and he is very adroit in catching the birds. Jesus said, "If I be lifted up, I will draw all men unto me." So, if we stand on the high ground of principle, we shall raise those around us; but if we stand on the dead level of expediency, we can raise none above it.

J. M. McKim pointed to the fact that while we had been charged with throwing away the staff of accomplishment, our meetings here, in New York and Boston, were larger and more effective than political anti-slavery meetings. What Free Soil man wishes that we shall abandon our position? Who of them would have Mr. Garrison go into a political party? James G. Birney was once a powerful advocate of our cause; he became a politician, and he is now a dead man morally.

W. H. TOPP said, I don't go for expediency, but for moral principle. I vote because I think I can do good by voting. Convince me that principle forbids me to vote, and I shall take your ground. I would not have Mr. Garrison join our party, because it would be coming down for him, and he can do more good where he is. Birney has fallen, and as has been said, is dead morally and politically too. The position of the Free Democrats is not well understood. Their platform demands the entire abolition of slavery where Congress has control.

MR. GARRISON remarked that while Scott and Pierce had accepted the platforms of their parties, Mr. Hale had not accepted that of his.

MR. TOPP replied that Mr. Hale was understood to approve it. Gerrit Smith had urged the Liberty Party to nominate Mr. Hale, and he must have known Mr. Hale's views or he would not have done it. I know the preaching of Lucy Stone at Syracuse has done good, in bringing Whigs and Democrats out of their parties into ours, and I wish you all to continue your work.

On motion of MARY GREW, it was voted 'that the subject of Finance be made the order of the day at half past three o'clock this afternoon, and that E. F. Pennypacker, B. C. Bacon, Edward Webb and Abby Kimber be the Finance Committee.

Adjourned to 2 P. M.

Afternoon Session.

The Society met as adjourned, the President in the chair.

After some remarks by the President upon the indecorous practice of using tobacco in public meetings—

The Nominating Committee reported the following list of officers to the Society, for the ensuing year, which was unanimously adopted:

President—James Mott.

Vice-Presidents—E. M. Davis, B. C. Bacon.

Corresponding Secretary—J. M. McKim.

Recording Secretary—Haworth Wetherald.

Treasurer—Sarah Pugh.

Additional Members of the Executive Committee—Lucretia Mott, Robert Purvis, Mary Grew, Oliver Johnson, Margaret Jones, E. F. Pennypacker, Abby Kimber, and C. M. Burleigh.

The 2d resolution was further sustained by LEVI COATES, and passed without dissent. No. 3 was then read, and unanimously adopted. No. 4 was taken up, and supported at length and with much power and eloquence by Mr. Garrison, Lucy Stone, Mary Grew and others.

MR. GARRISON believed that if any objection could be made to the resolution, it was to its softness of language. What could be gentler than to say it was not truly Christian or patriotic to enslave men? Why, it is villainous. It is diabolism. We might as well talk of an honest thief or a sober drunkard as a Christian slaveholder. To enslave men to promote free institutions is not simply wicked, it is insanity. It belongs to Bedlam. To sustain the Fugitive Slave Law to execute the Constitution is practical blasphemy. It is deifying the Constitution and dethroning Jehovah.

LUCY STONE supposed, when she heard the resolution, that the language was made thus tame, because it was the practice in this country to recognize slaveholders as Christians. It is done in the church and in society. Ninety-nine in every hundred of the people do not question a man's Christian character because he is a slaveholder. The speaker narrated several facts sustaining her statement, and showing that the leaders and prominent members of almost every religious sect, not excepting the Society of Friends, accord the Christian name to slaveholders, and that they were unhesitatingly received to Northern pulpits and communion tables. In Massachusetts she had seen Methodists engaged in the manufacture of slave-whips for the South. When she asked if they were really intended for that use, the pious manufacturers had admitted it, and had shown her the different kinds of whips employed, explaining their various merits. Those which were most popular and most in demand were so formed as to cause the keenest suffering, with the least mangling and bruising of the body. Lately, the Rev. Dr. Fuller, of Baltimore, who boasts that he owns sixty human beings as his slaves, visited Massachusetts, and Dr. Sharpe and other prominent Baptist clergymen there, instead of reproving him and calling him to repentance, welcomed him to their pulpits. In the same way are Episcopalian, Presbyterian and Methodist men-stealers admitted to Northern pulpits.

Now, we would write down the men who enslave and traffic in human beings, as unfit for the church as the pirate. Nothing can be more abhorrent to the spirit of Christ, and "He that hath not the spirit of Christ is none of his."

"Just God and Holy
Is that church which lends
Strength to the spoiler, thine?"

If the churches were to take the same ground as the English churches have taken; if they would say to the slaveholder, as Isaiah would say, "Break every yoke; let the oppressed go free; wash you, make you clean," then we will receive you, not before; if they would like Paul refuse to keep company with extortioners—the worst of extortioners—even so much as to eat with them, slavery must soon fall. But the churches and people of the North have not thus testified for a pure religion. After Dr. Dewey had publicly proclaimed his readiness to send his own mother into slavery, rather than endanger the Union, by the violation of the Fugitive Slave Law, (O, he ought not to have had a mother! He ought not to have been born!) and after he was rewarded by being made Chaplain to the navy, he was invited to New Bedford to lecture before the Lyceum, and paid five hundred

dollars for five lectures. Had he stolen but one pint of oil from one of those rich store-houses, by which to write his lectures, he would have been driven from the place with execrations. But as he only promised to send his mother to the pollution and torture of the slave system, he was rewarded with honor and office and gold.

The speaker pursued this train of remark with marked effect, showing the irreparable injury done, by the example of this nation, to the cause of pure religion and of liberty in other lands; that while we held this false position, we were, practically, the worst enemies of Christianity and republican freedom; and summoning every American, by his love to his country, by his devotion to freedom, and his duty to Christ, to join in the effort to free our country from its giant sin and curse.

MARY GREW said that abolitionists were asked why they were not content without denouncing the church. The reason is so apparent and pressing that we cannot keep silence. It is that it teaches the false doctrine that slavery is Christian, and sanctions all the crimes of that system. Look at it! Men, church members and ministers, all sell and buy men and women, their fellow church members, as brutes, and do not injure their reputation. Pray, why should not Dr. Sharpe invite Dr. Fuller to his pulpit? Dr. Fuller holds slaves and trades in slaves perhaps. But Dr. Sharpe says to his people "Obey the law of the country though it command you to do wrong." Dr. Fuller cannot preach a doctrine more monstrous. It is equivalent to saying, that when the Devil can persuade men to make a law in violation of the law of God, we must obey the Devil and disobey God. Had Dr. Sharpe put his injunction in this form he would only have spoken his sentiment in a little plainer Saxon. In olden times it was Christian heroism and fidelity to preach against wicked rulers and laws, and disobey them even at the risk of life. Dr. Sharpe holds up the men who did thus, as heroes and model Christians, and then turns round and tells his people you must obey human laws, however wicked or cruel they may be. Dr. Manly of South Carolina comes North, and here he attends missionary meetings and pleads, with overflowing sympathy, for the heathen of Asia, while he is heathenizing men on his own plantation. He does not merely talk, but he gives of his money publicly declaring, that he can afford a generous donation because he had just sold a man for a thousand dollars. This is the sort of Christianity preached from Northern pulpits and at Northern communion tables. The minister may flog his slave woman, and walk from his whipping-post to his communion table or pulpit, leaving the poor woman tied to receive more stripes after his service, and still he is recognized as a Christian minister. Yet these Baptists would not a soul of them admit to their communion, a minister who baptized infants. To baptize infants is thus treated as worse than selling infants. Is it not time for denunciation, when such monstrous things as these are openly done and defended by the church? Our ministers can denounce Scribes and Pharisees, because, as Lowell says, their relations are all dead, though they are a little cautious how they say "Wo unto you lawyers!" lest they should offend the living. They call themselves Christians, but we have proved that their hands are full of blood. They answer perfectly to the description of the churches that Isaiah denounced with tongue of flame, and against which Christ pronounced those dreadful woes.

This is our answer when we are asked why we denounce the churches. Because they are teaching a horrible doctrine and sustaining horrible crimes. Is our language too strong? It is not half strong enough. When the church buys, sells and heathenizes God's children, and blasphemously appeals to the name of Christ as its sanction, no language is strong enough to describe it. Talk of their piety! Though their prayers were longer than the Pharisees' and their praises were solemn and unceasing, it is all a mockery while

they trample on God's image. Judge ye therefore what is Christianity, and give not the holy name to that which violates its laws and has none of its spirit.

The discussion was continued by W. THORNE and T. HAMBLETON until 3½ o'clock, when the 4th resolution was adopted, and the finance subject taken up.

While the Committee collected pledges and donations, J. M. McKIM stated the needs of the Society, and urged the importance of increased contributions to meet the increased expenses, resulting from an enlargement of its operations.

ROBERT DOUGLASS, by request, sang "There's a Good Time Coming."

THOMAS WHITSON proposed that we raise \$1000 at this meeting, and appealed to every abolitionist to do his part in the work.

MR. GARRISON believed that there was no part of our operations that the slaveholders watched so narrowly as what Kossuth would call the 'material aid.' We cannot give charitably to this cause: we are debtors to it, and if we can discharge this debt we are indeed most fortunate. Our enterprise includes all others. It is an Education Society, for the instruction of thousands debarred from all knowledge; it is a Missionary Society to carry the Christian gospel to a nation of heathens in our midst; it is the true American Bible Society, seeking to give the Bible to a million of families to whom slavery forbids it; it is a Society to promote moral purity and the sacredness of marriage, and check the tide of pollution that is flooding the land; it is a Society for the promotion of Temperance, by removing a system of idleness, profligacy and self-indulgence, most fruitful of intemperance; it is a Tract Society, scattering in its course the messages of the glad tidings which proclaim deliverance to the captive. Our movement is eminently a religious movement. Now the religion of the country is the great prop of slavery. Its whole head is sick and its whole heart is faint. The public sentiment is corrupted by it. The pulpit and the press are leagued with the tyrant. While the anti-slavery presses may almost be counted on your fingers, the name of the pro-slavery presses is Legion. There is no village or town in the land that is yet abolitionized. The Theological Seminaries and Colleges of the country, with rare exceptions, are on the side of slavery. The great religious denominations are against us. The depraved public sentiment of the nation is illustrated in the eulogies of Daniel Webster, a man whose private life was to be abhorred, a man notoriously an inebriate and profligate, whose immoralities are not to be named, and who publicly had never spoken one word for impartial liberty, and had done all in his power to humble New England at the foot of the slave power. The treason of Benedict Arnold fades into whiteness beside him, and I doubt not Judas will stand better at the bar of God than he. Yet he is now lauded all over the land as a statesman, a patriot, and a true Christian—an example for the imitation of young men.

MR. G. continued in warm commendation of the devotion and zeal of this Society, its organ and editor, and urging every man who abhorred slavery to join in sustaining and encouraging their operations.

MRS. MOTT recommended the Anti-Slavery Fair to the patronage and assistance of all friends of the cause, stating that the Female Anti-Slavery Society in this city, and our friends in Europe were actively engaged in preparations for it. In conclusion, she offered the following resolution in behalf of the Fair, which passed unanimously:

"Resolved, That we earnestly request the active co-operation of the abolitionists of Pennsylvania in the Annual Anti-Slavery Fair of this State, believing it to be an important department of anti-slavery labor, whether regarded in its pecuniary or its moral aspect."

The 5th resolution was taken up and discussed briefly by Mrs. Mott, Ira Gibson and others. Under it, Dr. Stebbins introduced a discussion upon the course of Messrs. Hale and Sumner in the Senate, defending their action as all that any anti-slavery men could do in their situation. Dr. S. was replied to briefly by Mr. Garrison and C. M. Burleigh, when the Society adjourned to half past nine o'clock to-morrow morning.

The meeting through the day had been numerously attended, the afternoon session being much crowded, the assembly exhibiting a lively interest in the proceedings and discussions. Through the evening, also, the hall was crowded with an intelligent audience, who received the addresses of Mr. Garrison and Lucy Stone with strong demonstrations of pleasure and sympathy.

Fourth day Morning.

The society met as adjourned, the President taking the Chair. The minutes of yesterday's meeting having been read by the Secretary, the resolutions below were introduced by the Business Committee.

"11. Resolved, That in the seizure and abduction, as slaves, of Rachel and Elizabeth Parker, free, native inhabitants of Pennsylvania, and in the murder of Joseph C. Miller, a peaceable citizen of our State, for his efforts to rescue them from the hands of the kidnappers, and in other similar cases, we see the natural fruits of slavery; and that, in the indifference of the great mass of our citizens to such outrages, we see an example of the debasing influence of a Union which leaves one class of persons a prey to the cupidity of another, and permits immortal children of God to be bought and sold like brute beasts in the shambles."

"12. Resolved, That in the pardon, by Gov. Bigler, of that Barabbas in crime, George F. Alberti, the convicted kidnapper, in humble obedience to the insolent demands of a slave-holding State, Pennsylvania was disgraced, and the 'lip of her honor laid low in the dust,' and that so monstrous a perversion of executive trust is a dark stain on the memory of Gov. Bigler."

"13. Resolved, That we recommend to all abolitionists to strive to maintain their consistency by abstinence from the purchase and use of the products of the slave's extorted and unrequited labor.

Further appeals were made for funds by Thomas Whitson—who again earnestly pressed the necessity of raising \$1000 at this meeting—and Mary Grew, who exhorted abolitionists to give the slaveholder an example of willingness to make sacrifices while asking him to make them.

Mr. McKim stated that the increased expenses of the Society were owing entirely to the enlargement of its operations and of the paper.

The 5th resolution passed without dissent. The 10th, commending the Freeman and other Anti Slavery papers, was called up and read.

J. M. McKim urged the claims of the Freeman upon the anti-slavery public, as one of our most efficient instrumentalities. In answer to the question, Why does not the Freeman support itself? he explained that, unlike most weekly papers, it had very few advertisements, thus increasing its cost while lessening its income, and that its unpopular doctrines and manly spirit had limited its circulation, while papers which flatter popular views and pander to public prejudices will flourish. But this fact should make every lover of liberty and virtue the more resolute and active to sustain a paper so free and fearless, so honest and reliable.

The resolution was then adopted unanimously, and the following were introduced by the Business Committee.

"14. Resolved, That the purpose of the anti-slavery movement is not merely to repel the aggressions of the Slave Power upon the rights of Northern

men, nor to seek the modification or repeal of the Fugitive Slave Bill, nor to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, nor to prevent the further extension of the slave system; but it is, primarily, unalterably, and absolutely, to liberate every slave on the American soil.

"15. Resolved, That while it is highly gratifying to see such men as Hale, Sumner, Mann, Giddings, and Chase, earnestly endeavoring to resist the encroachments of the Slave Power, in their official position in Congress, and while we would accord to them full credit for all that they have done, it is saddening to reflect that they are able to occupy such a position only by swearing to support the Constitution of the United States—that 'covenant with death and agreement with hell,' by which no fugitive slave is allowed a shelter in any part of the country, which provides for a clear representation in the national legislature, that the political power of the slaveholders may be augmented in proportion to the number of their victims, whom they are thus directly stimulated to breed and multiply, and which keeps securely in their chains the entire slave population in the land."

"16. Resolved, That a union with pirates for the protection of commerce—with idolators for the preservation of the Christian faith—is just as rational and praiseworthy as a union with slaveholders for the establishment of a free, republican government."

No. 6, against the Fugitive Slave Law was taken up and adopted without debate and with entire unanimity, as also was the 7th, after brief remarks by Ira Gibson and Lewis Marshall.

No. 8, re-affirming the doctrine of "*No Union with Slaveholders*," was taken up, together with 14, 15, and 16, and sustained at length, and with convincing power, by Mr. Garrison, as containing the very gist of the Anti-Slavery movement. He maintained that our present Union was a mockery. It was not the Union of freemen, of equals, but of masters and subjects. While he rejoiced at the Speeches of Sumner, Hale, Giddings, and Horace Mann, they were in a false position, as members of a slaveholding Government and supporters of a slaveholding Constitution. He reviewed some of the positions of Mr. Sumner's speech in the Senate, showing that under our Government slavery is and always has been *national*, and that an attempt to argue it out of the Constitution is like trying to disprove the existence of such men as Washington and Franklin. Slavery is not mentioned there by name, but the *thing* was introduced and protected; and the devil is no less a devil that he comes in the robes of an angel.

The Constitution, as Mr. Sumner admits, sanctioned the "execrable piracy" of the African slave trade for twenty years, and gives a slave representation to the South. He knows that when it was adopted, slavery existed in every state save Massachusetts, and that it has protected that system to this day in more than half the territory of the nation. Yet, Mr. Sumner tells us that slavery is not national but sectional. Is it not absurd? Through the whole history of the government, the National power has protected slavery as it has nothing else. There is no protection for freedom. The South proclaims "Death! instant death to every abolitionist found in our borders," and the Government permits it. Nothing is left us to do, but by moral power to seek the overthrow of this government and its Constitution.

IRA GIBSON asked if we might not *amend* the Constitution and thus cast out the devil, instead of destroying it; and if we do not vote, how can we amend it?

MR. GARRISON said we will do this by showing the devil in it so clearly that all men shall shrink from it. But to vote under it, is a moral impossibility. Suppose the Constitution forbade us to acknowledge one true God.

Would you swear to support it for the privilege of voting to amend it ten or twenty years hence? But it cannot be amended. An amendment requires a vote of three-fourths of the States. When it was formed, some of the most odious provisions were introduced against the wishes of the majority of the States by the persistence of South Carolina and Georgia. The Slaveholders now threaten to dissolve the Union, if we repeal the Fugitive Slave Law, or abolish Slavery in the District of Columbia. What hope then have we that all the free States and half the slave States can be brought to insist upon an amendment to strike all pro-slavery provisions from the Constitution? Northern men say, The Union first, Freedom second. The Slaveholders say, Slavery first and the Union second, and so long as the North consents to the Union, Slavery will be first.

C. M. BURLEIGH thought that it desirable to decide whether we should have an afternoon session, and the hour of final adjournment, and for this purpose he moved that we finally adjourn at 2 o'clock. This proposition, after a brief discussion by C. Darlington, J. M. McKim, M. B. Linton and others, was negatived, and an afternoon session agreed to.

The 8th, 13th, 14th, 15th and 16th resolutions, all relating to similar topics, were adopted together, and the 9th in condemnation of the Colonization Society, was taken up. It was eloquently sustained by Robert Purvis, who exposed the wickedness and hypocrisy of that Society, and gave expression to the abhorrence felt for it by the free colored people and their real friends.

It was animated by hatred towards the colored people and was fraught with the worst evils to the race, and he had no charity for men who would support it under pretensions of benevolence to the people of color. To this false and malignant institution, said Mr. P., our Legislature, burdened with debt and almost bankrupt as the State is, has made an appropriation of \$2000. For this, our property is to be taxed and our money taken. It is time that we should treat the supporters of that Society as the enemies of the colored race.

THOMAS WHITSON stated that we had still nearly \$300 to raise, and we must do it here. He asked the friends to pledge the sums they would raise in their several neighborhoods toward the sum. A considerable amount was pledged in this way, when the Society took a recess until 2, P. M.

Afternoon Session.

The President took the chair, and the resolution on Colonization coming up, Wm. H. Topp of Albany spoke ably and earnestly in its support, proving the Colonization Society, from its own professions and actions, and the character of its supporters, to be actuated by a cowardly and cruel jealousy toward the free colored people, and a determination to get rid of them that the slaves may be held more securely. He claimed for the colored men the right to decide for themselves, without dictation, where should be their home, and what portion of God's free air they would breathe. He only claimed for the colored people their rights, and the removal of disabilities, and then if they could not rise socially it would be their own fault. They tell us, said Mr. T., to look to Africa for our home. What do I know of Africa? I am part Indian and part German. My grandfather came from Germany. We are so mixed up that we don't know where we sprung from nor of what race we are. Why do they not attempt to colonize me to Germany, or the Western forests, if I am to go to the land of my fathers? They tell us we may have a free government, and be Presidents, Governors, Legislators and Judges in Liberia. What do we care to be all this in Africa, if it must be on condition of our being *things* in America. 1

claim to be an American citizen, and shall contend on my native soil for the rights of an American citizen. This claim should every colored man make and resolve to sustain it.

MR. GARRISON followed, in a clear, logical and convincing argument, tracing that Society from that origin among Slaveholders and haters of the free people of color, through its whole thirty five years of fraud and bold-faced hypocrisy, and giving incontestible evidence in its public acts, the sentiments of its organ, and the character and speeches of its chosen orators and officers, that its spirit has ever been that of jealousy, prejudice, and hatred to the persecuted and disfranchised colored people. In reading these he was forced to exclaim, "Oh full of all subtlety and mischief, thou child of the Devil; thou enemy of all righteousness; when wilt thou cease to pervert the right ways of the Lord."

He denounced prejudice against color as unchristian, unnatural, vulgar and inhuman, showing it to be a legitimate offshoot of slavery, and that more than by anything else besides slavery, this wicked prejudice is fostered by the Colonization Society.

In conclusion, Mr Garrison spoke a brief and impressive farewell to the Society and audience; expressing the great pleasure he had experienced in the meeting and intercourse with its members, and exhorting us all to faith and courage, brotherly harmony and charity, and a perseverance which will never faint or weary while life lasts.

MR. GARRISON was responded to by the hearty applause of the assembly, and as he retired, we believe many a heart gave him its silent blessing and God speed in his life's great mission.

ROBERT DOUGLASS sung "The Indian Hunter" and followed with remarks mainly showing the injustice of this country toward Hayti, when the resolution was unanimously adopted.

The 11th and 12th resolutions were passed without dissent, and after some remarks in its support by Mrs. Mott, the 13th, upon Free Produce was adopted.

ABBY KIMBER spoke in behalf of the Fair, urging its advantages, pecuniarily, socially and morally to our cause, and the importance of labor and contributions for it, in every region where any sympathy was felt for its object. After further remarks of the same tendency by Lucy Stone, Rebecca Plimly and Mrs. Mott, the Society adjourned *sine die*, and its members separated evidently refreshed, animated and strengthened by their communion, for the work to which they returned.

C. M. BURLEIGH.
Secretary.